Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-229
Tuesday
29 November 1988

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-229 *29 November 1988*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

INF Verification Commission Meets in Geneva *[TASS]* 1
Korionov Defends Missile Elimination Treaty *[PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 1
Soviet Inspectors 'Banned' From U.S. Homes *[PRAVDA 26 Nov]* 2

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Pact Discusses West European Integration *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* 3
Warsaw Pact Information Group Meets *[TASS]* 3
CEMA Body Discusses Foreign Economic Ties *[PRAVDA 23 Nov]* 3
CEMA Fuel, Raw Materials Panel Meets *[PRAVDA 19 Nov]* 3
Chinese Attend CEMA Meeting as Observer *[Moscow International]* 3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

'Review' on Europe, Angola, Afghanistan *[Korionov in PRAVDA 27 Nov]* 4
NATO Assembly Session Talks Analyzed *[IZVESTIYA 23 Nov]* 6
Impact of Bush Victory on NATO Pondered *[Drobkov in PRAVDA 23 Nov]* 7
History Dictates Need for 'Vigilance' *[Markushin in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Nov]* 8
Moscow Hosts Roundtable on Democratization *[PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. Visa Refusal for 'Arafat Termed 'Blunder' *[Balebanov in TASS]* 10
U.S. Hindering Settlement *[Pogodin on Moscow International]* 10
Report on Visa Denial *[Moscow International]* 11
Shultz Cited on Upcoming Gorbachev Visit *[PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 11
Grain Agreement With U.S. Renewed *[TASS]* 11
Soviet-U.S. Human Rights Forum Concludes *[IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 12
Review of Seminar *[ARGUMENTIY I FAKTY No 48]* 12
Dialogue Advances *[PRAVDA 21 Nov]* 13
AUCCTU Spokesman Criticizes Visa Denial *[TASS]* 14

China

Far East Institute Officiai Comments on Relations *[Delhi PATRIOT 15 Nov]* 14
Union of Sinologists Opens First Congress *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 16
Congress Ends *[Moscow International]* 17
Report on Closing *[Moscow International]* 17
Radio Cites PRC Media on Gorbachev Foreign Policy *[Mulatov on Moscow International]* 17
Tourist Contacts on Amur River To Increase *[Moscow International]* 18
Soviet Ambassador Honors Chinese Academic *[Moscow International]* 18

Northeast Asia

Murakhovskiy Meets DPRK Vice Premier *[TASS]* 18
South Koreans Demand Former President's Trial *[TASS]* 18
Political, Social Renewal in Mongolia *[PRAVDA 23 Nov]* 19

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Burma Government Urged on 'Conciliation' *[Moscow International]* 19
TASS Cites Cambodian Foreign Minister's Remarks 20
'Friendly' Consultations With SRV Held 22 Nov *[IZVESTIYA 24 Nov]* 21

SRV Troop Pullout From Laos Assessed *[Moscow International]* 21

Near East & South Asia

'Secret' U.S.-Iranian Talks Evaluated *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 22
Iran's Expanding Ties With Gulf States Lauded *[Sheftunov on Moscow International]* 22
Kornilov on Pakistani 'Whitewash' of Violations *[TASS]* 23
Renewing Ties With Israel 'Very Real Issue' *[Katanidze on Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 24
Israeli Nuclear Weapon Program Viewed *[Gontar in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Nov]* 24
USSR Declares Support for PLO's 'Arafat *[TASS]* 26
'Arafat Praises Soviet Stand on Palestine Issue *[Moscow International]* 26
Palestinian Parliament Session Assessed *[Geyvandov in IZVESTIYA 20 Nov]* 27
PRAVDA Interviews PLO's Mahmud 'Abbas *[20 Nov]* 29
TASS Interviews PFLP's George Habash 29
Government Greetings Exchanged With Jordan *[IZVESTIYA 26 Nov]* 30
Special Program Views Gorbachev Visit to India *[Moscow Radio]* 30
Venkataraman Meets Soviet AAPSO Delegate *[IZVESTIYA 28 Nov]* 33

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Important Step' Made in Namibia Peace Talks *[Pogodin on Moscow International]* 33
Radio Reviews Article on Soviet-RSA Meeting *[Moscow International]* 33
UN Wants S. African Death Sentence Repealed *[TASS]* 34
Anniversary of Ethiopian Treaty Marked *[PRAVDA 20 Nov]* 34

East Europe

Hungarian Central Committee Plenum Reported *[PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 35
Miklos Nemeth Elected New Hungarian Premier 36
Chosen From Several Candidates *[IZVESTIYA 26 Nov]* 36
Paper Profiles New Premier *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 36
Interview on Economic Cooperation *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Hungarian Party Political School Restructured *[PRAVDA 23 Nov]* 37

West Europe

Contradictory Aspects of Howe Commons Speech *[PRAVDA 27 Nov]* 37
British Parliament Opening, Queen's Speech Noted *[PRAVDA 23 Nov]* 38
Leaders Greeting Mitterrand Arrival Noted *[IZVESTIYA 26 Nov]* 38
Soviet-French Bank Agreement Signed *[TASS]* 38
Soviet-French Consultations on Near East Held *[IZVESTIYA 19 Nov]* 38
Soviet-European Conference Opens in Brussels *[TASS]* 39
Soviet-West German Economic Ventures Discussed *[Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA 20 Nov]* 39
Soviet-FRG Technical Trade Center To Open *[PRAVDA 25 Nov]* 39
Kovalev Receives West German Ambassador *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 40
Soviet-Austrian Cooperation Talks Open in Vienna 40
Ryzhkov Greets Commission *[TASS]* 40
Session Ends, Documents Signed *[IZVESTIYA 26 Nov]* 40
Cooperation Talks With Turkey Open in Ankara *[TASS]* 40
Cooperation Protocol Signed *[TASS]* 41
Katushev Meets With Turkish Businessmen *[IZVESTIYA 28 Nov]* 41
Gorbachev Report Published in Turkey *[TASS]* 41
Murakhovskiy Meets With Swedish Businessmen *[TASS]* 41
CEMA-Finland Commission Discusses Cooperation *[TASS]* 41
Cooperation Protocol Signed *[TASS]* 42
Soviet-Cypriot Political Consultations End *[TASS]* 42
Cyprus: Moscow Comments on NATO Exercises *[Moscow International]* 42
Soviet Justice Minister Arrives in Rome *[TASS]* 43
Spanish Communist Party Delegation Ends Visit *[TASS]* 43

Latin America & Caribbean

Soviet-Nicaraguan Economic Commission Meets 43

Economic Ties Discussed *[PRAVDA 26 Nov]* 43
Agreements Signed *[IZVESTIYA 27 Nov]* 43
Hurricane Problems Discussed *[Moscow International]* 44
Nicaraguan Economic Problems Blamed on U.S. *[TASS]* 44
Gorbachev's Visit to Cuba Previewed *[(Druzhkov) and Antilov on Moscow International]* 44
Salvadoran Rebel Discusses 'National Debate' *[Moscow International]* 45
USSR-Bound Chilean Communist Montez Arrested *[Korionov in PRAVDA 17 Nov]* 45

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

USSR Supreme Soviet Session Opens 29 Nov 47
Present Leaders Listed *[Moscow Radio]* 47
Citizens' Views Noted *[TASS]* 47
Debate on Proposals Begins *[TASS]* 47
Gorbachev Address on Draft Laws *[TASS]* 48
CPSU Central Committee 28 November Plenum 52
Three Members 'Removed' *[PRAVDA 29 Nov]* 52
Resolution on Party Commissions *[PRAVDA 29 Nov]* 52
Resolution on Political Reform *[PRAVDA 29 Nov]* 57
Resolution on Economic 'Concept' *[PRAVDA 29 Nov]* 59
Estonians Comment on USSR Leadership Meetings 59
On CPSU Central Committee Plenum *[Tallinn Radio]* 59
On Supreme Soviet Presidium *[Hansen on Tallinn Radio]* 59
Further Reportage on Azerbaijan, Armenia 60
Baku Transport Rules Strengthened *[Baku Radio]* 60
Baku Curfew Rules Strengthened *[Baku Radio]* 60
695 Held for Curfew Violations *[Baku Radio]* 61
Commandant Appeals to Residents *[Baku Radio]* 61
Commandant Calls for 'Restraint' *[Baku Radio]* 61
Commandant's Communique 28 Nov *[Baku Radio]* 61
Activist, Military Curbs Cited *[IZVESTIYA 28 Nov]* 62
Students' Threats Halt Workers *[IZVESTIYA 29 Nov]* 63
Commission Meets on Refugees *[Baku Radio]* 64
Nakhichevan, Kirovabad Incidents *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Nov]* 64
Kirovabad Killings Detailed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Nov]* 65
Press Reports Highlighted *[Baku Radio]* 66
DPA Rounds Up Situation 66
Vezirov at 26 Nov Baku Plenum *[Baku Radio]* 67
Shatalin Interviewed on NKAO *[PRAVDA 26 Nov]* 69
Academician Frolov on Azerbaijan *[Moscow Radio]* 71
'Military Aspects' of Latvian Popular Front *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 Nov]* 71
Incident at Ukrainian Nuclear Reactor Explained *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 19 Nov]* 74

Agricultural

Gorbachev Tours Agro-Industrial Exhibit *[Moscow TV]* 74

Scientific

Further on Progress of 'Soyuz TM-7' Flight 76
Docking Set for 1730 GMT 28 Nov *[TASS]* 76
Docking With 'Mir' Successful *[TASS]* 76
Cosmonauts Transfer to Orbiter *[TASS]* 77
Experiments Underway *[TASS]* 77
'Buran' Tiles Melt During Reentry *[Moscow TV]* 77

INF Verification Commission Meets in Geneva

LD2811180688 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Geneva November 28 TASS—The Special Verification Commission, established under the Soviet-American INF Treaty, has begun its third regular session here today.

The commission is to examine questions pertaining to compliance by the parties with their commitments under the treaty and to agree on steps to enhance the treaty's viability and effectiveness.

Korionov Defends Missile Elimination Treaty

PM2811155188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[Vitaliy Korionov article: "Why Should Missiles Be Eliminated?"]

[Text] PRAVDA reader and CPSU member P.P. Gavrilov, a pensioner from the city of Serpukhov, has sent the editorial office a letter, which says, among other things, the following: "With pain in my heart I have read about the disarmament of our army in the face of the capitalist aggressors, who have not become any more kindly disposed toward our country and its people. In this situation our leadership has agreed to destroy missiles—somewhat more, moreover, than the Americans. Why? Where is our concern for our country's defense? Why are Western countries not destroying their missiles with us?"

That's the letter. It is not alone in our editorial mailbag. These letters illustrate that the security of the motherland is a sacred matter for Soviet people.

Let me begin just by saying that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was prompted by the need to ensure mankind's survival in the nuclear missile age. Specialists calculated that if the world's existing nuclear munitions were piled up in the form of a pyramid, the top would pierce the stratosphere. Yet, if this "pile" exploded it would mean the end of all life on earth. Admittedly, the missiles liable to destruction under this treaty only amount to 4-5 percent of existing nuclear weapons, but even this "percentage" can cause mankind indescribable damage.

Certainly, the USSR will have to destroy more missiles than the United States. Under the treaty, the USSR is to destroy 826 intermediate-range missiles and 926 shorter-range missiles, whereas the United States is to destroy 689 and 170 respectively. Disparity. Clearly. But does this mean that we are giving in to Washington's diktat? No. The point is that at the time the treaty was signed the USSR had 826 intermediate-range missiles and 926 shorter-range missiles, whereas the United States had 689 and 170 respectively. Thus, the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is based on the imperative need for mutual compromise in the face of the serious threat to Europe and the entire world.

Here, of course, the following question arises: Did we need to produce so many missiles? That's a difficult question. Let's recall, however, the situation of the postwar decades. U.S. nuclear militarists were the first to create the atomic bomb and test it at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Atomic blackmail of the Soviet Union began. Our security was in serious jeopardy. We were forced to create our nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union's attainment of parity with the United States confused the plans of the Washington blackmailers. In May 1972, U.S. President Nixon paid an official visit to our country and signed a whole series of treaties. Washington politicians had not, of course, become more kindly disposed toward the Soviet Union, but our country had changed and the West had to talk differently to it.

After parity had been attained and after the world entered upon the first wave of detente we should have shifted the center of gravity to the sphere of ensuring the state's security not by military, but political means. However, the Soviet leadership of the time continued to follow the well-trodden path, allowing our country to get drawn into a new spiral of the arms race. Admittedly, I personally venture to doubt whether the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles would have become fact had we not produced and deployed intermediate- and shorter-range weapons. But this is, evidently, a debatable question.

Military facilities are still considered the "holy of holies" for states, although modern means of observation, in particular from space, have substantially changed the state of affairs. The former secrecy of military facilities simply does not exist. The treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is based on this reality. It determines a hitherto unprecedented system of effective verification; in particular, on-site inspection. In a number of cases it constitutes a kind of invasion of the sphere of national sovereignty. But in the 17th century Immanuel Kant in his treatise "For Eternal Peace" predicted that the idea of disarmament compels "accord to be achieved between people through discord even against their will." How would Kant have regarded the nuclear missile age?

U.S. inspectors are now looking around our military facilities as stipulated by the treaty and Soviet inspections are being implemented at corresponding military facilities in the United States and certain other NATO countries. This does not fit in with our former concepts. But the whole point is that the nuclear era imperiously dictates that we think in a new way. In 1948 British historian Arnold Toynbee noted that the national state and nuclear fission cannot coexist on this planet; one must be eliminated. Reason enjoins that it is necessary to

do away with nuclear weapons. Ensuring the security of states nowadays is increasingly shifting from the sphere of the correlation of military potentials to the sphere of politics.

Constructive dialogue between states has already led to the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. By proceeding along this path, we will gain a chance to secure agreements on the reduction and elimination of other kinds of arms. This is also a truly fundamental policy of our time—the policy of ensuring mankind's right to life.

The Soviet Union is fulfilling its commitments imposed by the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The U.S. side is also doing this by withdrawing Pershings from the FRG and by eliminating the missiles on its territory as stipulated by the treaty. By 20 November, 46 Pershing-1, 9 Pershing-2, 41 ground-launched cruise missiles, and 17 launchers had been eliminated. By that date the USSR had carried out 40 inspections in the United States and in countries where nuclear missile weapons are sited, and the United States had carried out 165. This process is continuing.

Does this mean that, by concluding the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the CPSU and the Soviet state disregarded the militarist danger invested in the very nature of imperialism? No, it does not. The Soviet leadership is devoting the proper attention to this very important question, guided by the following principle put forward by the 19th all-union party conference: The effectiveness of our defense organizational development must from now be ensured by primarily qualitative parameters, both with regard to equipment and personnel.

Soviet Inspectors 'Banned' From U.S. Homes

PM2811164188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Order—Slam the Doors!"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Nov—While America was celebrating Thanksgiving Day at festive tables, Soviet military inspectors in the state of Utah were banned by the Pentagon from visiting Americans in their own homes, UPI reports. This information was conveyed to journalists by the U.S. pacifist organization "Women Concerned by Nuclear War." A representative of the organization, Rosemary Holt, said that, in addition to homes of Americans, the U.S. Defense Department is not allowing the Soviet military inspectors to visit public places such as schools and churches. This policy is designed to isolate Soviet people in the state of Utah and prevent Americans from establishing purely human contact with them, she pointed out. This is undermining the possibility of achieving better relations between the two countries and shows that the Pentagon is trying to persuade Americans that the Soviet Union still poses a threat to them.

A newspaper published in Utah, SALT LAKE CITY TRIBUNE, asked an official from the Pentagon to comment on this. Confirming that the Defense Department is indeed opposed to informal contacts between the Soviet inspectors and Americans, he tried to justify this by citing "security considerations." The spokesman for the U.S. Defense Department made a telling admission: "We simply say 'No' in response to requests to invite Russians into private homes. They receive too many invitations...."

Pact Discusses West European Integration

PM2411150988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] A meeting of Foreign Ministry experts from Warsaw Pact member states on questions of West European integration was held in Moscow 17-18 November.

The experts examined political, economic, and military aspects of the integration processes in West Europe and exchanged opinions on humanitarian questions pertaining to the integration.

Warsaw Pact Information Group Meets

LD2311111988 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest November 23 TASS—The multi-sided group on current mutual information of the representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member countries held a meeting in Bucharest on November 22-23.

At the meeting views and information were exchanged on some topical international issues of mutual interest, in particular, those relating to security and cooperation in Europe, to the settlement of conflict situations in other regions of the world. A mutual exchange of information took place on the foreign policy activity of the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

CEMA Body Discusses Foreign Economic Ties

PM2811100988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CEMA Committee Session"]

[Text] The third session of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Sphere of Foreign Economic Relations was held in Moscow 21-22 November.

The participants discussed and approved the committee's plan of work for 1989-1990, which envisages a broad range of measures designed to develop and improve cooperation between CEMA member countries in the sphere of foreign economic relations as well as cooperation with third countries and their international economic organizations.

They examined questions of price formation in reciprocal trade between CEMA member countries as well as measures to develop cooperation in sectors of the agro-industrial complex. They also discussed questions of CEMA countries' relations with developing countries, cooperation between CEMA and the EEC, and several other issues concerning multilateral cooperation between CEMA member-countries in the sphere of foreign economic relations.

CEMA Fuel, Raw Materials Panel Meets

PM2311164988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Work Plan Adopted"]

[Text] The first (constituent) session of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Fuel and Raw Materials was held in Moscow 16-18 November.

The session was attended by CEMA member countries' representatives on the committee.

In accordance with the agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government an SFRY delegation attended the committee session.

Proceeding from the provisions of the 44th sitting of the CEMA session and the 128th session of the council's Executive Committee, the committee session examined draft provisions relating to the committee, proposals for its standing working organs, and a list of CEMA cooperation programs and multilateral agreements adopted and concluded earlier whose implementation will be systematically monitored by the Committee for Cooperation in Fuel and Raw Materials.

The committee's work plan for 1988-1990 was adopted. Relevant resolutions were adopted on all organizational questions concerning the activities of the committee.

The committee session took place in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Chinese Attend CEMA Meeting as Observer

OW2011144988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] After a lapse of more than 20 years, a Chinese delegation has attended a CEMA meeting with observer status. A CEMA meeting on the leather industry is being held in Sofia. A delegation from China's Federation of Leather Industry attended the meeting. The Chinese delegates were warmly welcomed at the opening session.

'Review' on Europe, Angola, Afghanistan
PM2811140588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Vitaliy Korionov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text]

Floor by Floor

International relations are now going through a very crucial stage. The situation on the planet as a whole is being normalized. Nevertheless, the threat of war remains, and the arms race machine is continuing its infernal revolutions. At this critical juncture mankind's destiny is directly dependent on the activity of those governments, political parties, and public movements that possess particularly great potential for changing the balance of power in the international arena in favor of the cause of peace.

Such powerful forces for modern world progress as the socialist countries and the states born in the crucible of national liberation revolutions are placing their multifaceted potential for partnership on these scales. This was confirmed with new cogency by the results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to India.

The states which are primarily interested in strengthening peace in such a sensitive region as Europe are also placing their potential on these scales. For if there is no peace in Europe, there will be no peace throughout the world. The European countries' increasing activeness in the cause of improving the international atmosphere is a remarkable feature of our time.

The Soviet Union, the other socialist states, and the Warsaw Pact Organization are advancing more and more constructive, peaceful initiatives. The contribution of nonsocialist Europe is also growing. President F. Mitterrand of France has come to Moscow on a working visit, following in the steps of the federal chancellor of the Republic of Austria, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, and the FRG federal chancellor. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, will pay a reciprocal visit to France in the first half of next year. The Soviet leader will visit Britain in December.

These events attest to a very important phenomenon—the building of a "common European home" has entered the practical stage. Obstructions and other obstacles are being removed from the construction site, bricks are being laid in the building's foundations, and, what is more, the outlines of the ground floors are beginning to take shape and components which will come in handy during subsequent construction work are even beginning to be selected.

There are grounds for saying that the concept of a "common home" for Europe, which was advanced by the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries and which has met with ardent understanding in West European states, is now no longer a speculative scheme or a castle in the sky but a realistic answer to the European peoples' vital needs and desires.

Europe's best minds had long been dreaming of the coming of a time when lasting peace would come to our continent's scarred land. As long ago as 1849 Victor Hugo pronounced these inspired words in a speech on the opening of the peace congress in Paris: "The day will come when you France, you Russia, you Italy, you England, you Germany—all of you, all nations of the continent, without losing your distinguishing features and your magnificent originality, will all merge together inseparably in some higher unity and form a European fraternity.... The day will come when the only battlefield consists of markets open for trade and minds open for ideas.... The day will come when guns will be exhibited in museums, as instruments of torture are now, and people will be astounded that such barbarity was possible."

The great humanist transcended the bounds of not only the 19th but the 20th century. Europe has still not lived to see the realization of his dream. However, the desire to cross the barriers that exist on the continent is growing year by year. In the last years of the century rapprochement among the countries of the continent is becoming the paramount task for Europeans. And the further development of Soviet-French cooperation is an indispensable component in the building of the "common European home." This cooperation is founded on a profound understanding of the permanent historical and geographic factors which determined relations between France and Russia in the past and present between the USSR and France.

Soviet-French cooperation has to its credit many major joint accomplishments in favor of European and world peace. Preconditions exist for the fruitful resolution of a package of questions of bilateral relations.

Yesterday, in the presence of President Mitterrand, a craft with Soviet and French cosmonauts on board lifted off from Baykonur cosmodrome into the remoteness of space. This flight marks the culmination of our two countries' 22 years of cooperation in space, which began with simple joint experiments on board Soviet spacecraft and has gone on to such complex projects as "Aragats," in the course of which a French citizen will walk in space for the first time. This too is further graphic confirmation of the two countries' determination to act to promote the strengthening of peace throughout the world.

Clearing the Way

An encouraging report has come out of Geneva: Informal consultations, held with U.S. mediation, on a peaceful settlement of the conflict in southwest Africa have

ended there within the framework of the talks between Angola, Cuba, and the RSA. They succeeded in agreeing on the last of the hitherto unresolved questions of the overall package of accords—on the schedule for the Cuban troop withdrawal from the People's Republic of Angola. The Governments of Angola, Cuba, the RSA, and the United States have been informed of the schedule that has been drawn up. The RSA Government has declared that it agrees with the accord reached. Thus, we see further evidence that the tendency to settle regional conflicts by peaceful means is gathering strength in international relations.

The armed conflict in the region of southwest Africa has been one of the longest and hardest to resolve. Its roots lie in the policy of apartheid pursued by the RSA with the support of very influential Western circles and in Pretoria's desire to continue the occupation of Namibia and, at the same time, to destabilize the neighboring states which have chosen an independent path of development. Blood has been shed there for 13 years. The war has cost Angola alone 60,000 casualties, while the material damage suffered by it has topped $12 billion. For more than 4 decades the South African racists' whip has been cracking over Namibia, which they have turned into their military bridgehead.

But the racists and their foreign patrons have not achieved their ends. Innumerable incursions into Angola by South African troops have not broken the fighting spirit of the republic's defenders. Armed formations of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola headed by J. Savimbi, which are virtually an extension of the RSA Army in Angola, have inflicted much grief on the Angolan people but have failed to gain control of a single of Angola's 18 provinces. Namibia's patriots headed by their combat vanguard—the South-West African People's Organization—have continued the struggle against the occupiers throughout these years. At the same time Pretoria's aggressive policy has backfired against its instigators, leading to an overloading of the RSA economy and finances and the still greater exacerbation of the sociopolitical situation in the country.

Meanwhile, the leadership of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party and the Angolan Government have skillfully combined the resolute struggle for the motherland's freedom and independence with a flexible policy of encouraging and achieving national harmony, which is the embodiment of the course of reconciliation.

The question of the Cuban troops in Angola remained a stumbling block at the talks for a number of years. As is known, these troops (their numbers reached 50,000) were invited by the Angolan Government to defend the motherland's freedom—which is the inalienable right of a sovereign state. Washington and Pretoria tried for a long time to place some "equals sign" between the Cuban troops, who were helping to uphold Angola's honor and sovereignty, and the RSA troops who had invaded Angola and stifled Namibia, seeking a decision on the simultaneous evacuation of these forces. It was an unlawful, unnatural parallel. It has now been removed.

And another detail: Under the accord reached, as a preliminary the RSA will have to end its occupation of Namibia, whereas the Cuban troops will be withdrawn from Angola over a 2-year period. Why is this? The thing is that the Cuban forces will be withdrawn from Angola to Cuba, which is more than 10,000 km away—a distance which has to be covered by air or by sea—whereas the RSA troops are leaving Namibia for South Africa, in which case the maximum distance will be 2,500 km.

So the resolution of all questions has passed to the sphere of a just settlement of the conflict, having secured the strengthening of Angola's independence, territorial integrity, and state sovereignty. All these questions are being resolved on the basis of a peaceful settlement.

Seeking a Real Basis

All the UN member states recently adopted the General Assembly's resolution on Afghanistan on the basis of consensus. This document enshrines the unanimous opinion of the international community that only recognition of the need to preserve the independence, territorial integrity, national sovereignty, and neutral status of the Afghan state can be a real basis for a peaceful political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

Both Pakistan and the United States, which had also adopted similar pledges under the Geneva agreements 7 months ago, were involved in the adoption of this resolution. However, if we look not at the verbal declarations of Islamabad and Washington but at their specific practical deeds, it becomes obvious that there is still a very great distance between their words and deeds. The essence of this tactic is becoming increasingly obvious: to regard the Geneva agreements only as a fig leaf masking the continuation of the previous, pre-Geneva policy.

It is no coincidence that this tactic has been chosen. As a result of the purposeful policy of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan, the development of events in that country has approached a decisive stage which gives Afghanistan a real opportunity to cross the dividing line between the night of war and the day of peace.

A sound basis is being laid for a peaceful, creative life with the help, above all, of the Soviet Union. Of the 320 industrial, power, agricultural, and other national economic projects being constructed with the USSR's help and which are of decisive significance for the republic's economy, 140 have already been commissioned.

Kabul calls insistently for talks to begin on the creation of a coalition government on a broad basis with the participation of all the forces now confronting each other. This policy of national reconciliation is meeting

with growing understanding in the country. A few days ago, for example, a jirgah of elders and leaders of a number of Qandahar tribes came out in support of the government's constructive initiatives. Afghanistan is submitting to the verdict of international public opinion new proposals aimed at ending the bloodshed. One of the latest such initiatives is the proposal to hold an international conference under UN auspices with a view to creating guarantees of Afghanistan's neutral status and a program of the country's demilitarization under international control. President Najibullah has also advanced the idea of direct talks among the Afghan sides in the Islamic holy place of Mecca—an idea supported in international Muslim circles.

The Soviet Union's consistent implementation of the Geneva agreements is creating favorable conditions for the peaceful resolution of the Afghan question. As is known, 50 percent of the limited contingent of Soviet troops has been removed from Afghanistan. The withdrawal has been carried out under the supervision of a group of military representatives at the United Nations, who have noted the Soviet Union's punctilious fulfillment of its Geneva pledges.

It is precisely at this stage, when favorable preconditions for the peaceful resolution of this armed conflict which is dangerous to the whole world are growing, that the opposition forces are augmenting their subversive activity.

Aggressive interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan is being stepped up significantly. The Pakistani defense minister has gone so far as to openly declare: Peace in Afghanistan will not be established until the present Afghan Government has been overthrown. Not one supply base for the gangs of "intransigents" has been liquidated on Pakistani territory, and not one training center, where saboteurs and killers are instructed, has been closed. Lethal weapons, including U.S. missiles, continue to be shipped unceasingly to opposition bases in Afghanistan. The villainous shelling of Kabul and other cities with rockets is continuing, and hundreds of peaceful inhabitants are dying. Many of the country's provinces are in the fire of bloody battles. The opposition has no positive program. "Kill, kill, kill"—this is its sole "motto."

It is natural that under the conditions of the escalating situation in the country and the increasing threat to the peaceful Afghan population, as well as to foreign citizens in Afghanistan, the Soviet troop command in that country was forced to take additional measures to suppress the armed opposition's subversive and terrorist activity and to help the Republic's Army to exercise its defensive functions. It is entirely in vain that certain press organs in the West are squealing about these measures.

It would be far more sensible to emphasize another aspect of the question: the existence of a real possibility to give quite a different direction to the course of events in that region. Suffice it to say, for example, that the outcome of the recent elections in Pakistan has shown that very considerable sections of that country's population would like to impart a different, sensible, realistic substance to Islamabad's policy, above all with regard to Afghanistan. Will this voice be heard by those who still cling to a hopeless, bankrupt policy?

NATO Assembly Session Talks Analyzed

PM2311144588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by correspondent Ye. Grishin: "New Trends and Old Dogmas"]

[Text] For 6 days the flags of the 16 NATO countries fluttered brightly at the entrance of the old town hall in Hamburg. The 34th session of the North Atlantic Assembly, in which 188 parliamentarians took part, took place here.

The recommendations of this NATO consultative organ are not binding for the governments of the member countries and the bloc's ruling clique. But the debates at the sessions reflect trends and feelings among NATO politicians and military men. The discussion focused this time on relations between East and West, primarily the quest for a coordinated NATO response to the Soviet peace initiatives and policy of restructuring. It was from this viewpoint that debates proceeded on virtually all reports submitted in the five committees of the assembly: the political, military, and economic committees and the committees for science and technology and civilian questions.

Those taking part in the session noted that the USSR's policy of new thinking is having profound influence on the world situation and is confronting NATO with the need to react to the changes taking place. FRG representative Ekkehard Lueckemeyer [name as transliterated], in his report "Problems of NATO Strategy," cited indicative figures from public opinion polls. Whereas in 1983 some 46 percent of citizens believed in a threat from the USSR, the figure now is only 24 percent. Some 59 percent of those polled feel no threat from the East. Some 68 percent reject the modernization of nuclear weapons. These figures attest to the fact that the thesis of the military threat from the Warsaw Pact as justification for measures in the armament field is losing its effectiveness, the report notes.

What does E. Lueckemeyer suggest? He recommends stepping up explanatory work on the "defensive nature of NATO, the peaceful intentions of its members, and readiness to cooperate with the Soviet Union in the matter of arms reduction." In other words, to camouflage the NATO ruling clique's reluctance to resolve questions of nuclear and conventional arms on the basis of the principle of parity and identical security. This was obvious from the speeches by the leading NATO figures.

U.S. General J. Galvin, NATO allied forces commander in chief, Europe, persistently warned against any concessions in the conventional arms sphere. In general, he recommends being in no hurry with disarmament plans, putting them off indefinitely. In his opinion "we should wait for the results of the fulfillment of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and only then will it be possible to discuss plans for the further reduction of the nuclear potential."

The speech by NATO Secretary General M. Woerner was couched in the same spirit. He militated in particular for the stepping up of "the bloc's European buttress" and the consolidation of all-around military cooperation between the United States and its European allies.

FRG Chancellor H. Kohl's speech made a dual impression. Assessing positively the development of relations between East and West, he expressed himself in favor of continuing the disarmament process and strengthening confidence-building measures. At the same time the chancellor opposed the total elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe, indicating that under present conditions there is no alternative to the NATO strategy of nuclear deterrence. H. Kohl again tried to justify this adherence to the conservation of nuclear arsenals with the aid of unfounded claims regarding the USSR's supremacy in the field of conventional arms and operational-tactical missiles and the "threat from the East."

The report by former FRG Chancellor H. Schmidt was awaited with great interest. Touching on the USSR's course, he stressed that political restructuring benefits not only the Soviet Union but also the Western countries. "We must make use of the favorable opportunities for expanding cooperation with the USSR and the socialist states in all spheres, including disarmament talks."

Noting the successes in restructuring and glasnost in the USSR, the former chancellor expressed his doubt as to the possibility of fully implementing the outlined reforms in our country. He used this to justify the need to maintain the NATO armed forces at a high level of combat readiness. H. Schmidt called the question of modernizing short-range nuclear missiles "a matter of tertiary importance."

Debates at the plenary sessions and in the assembly committees took place behind closed doors. Nonetheless substantial differences between the United States and its European allies became known. This was reflected during the discussion of the final resolution, voted against by a group of deputies from Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Spain, Italy, and the FRG. Speaking on behalf of this group, Pelle Voigt (Denmark) submitted for the session's examination another version of the final document. It stresses the urgent need to renounce the nuclear deterrent concept and expresses concern at the fact that "to this day NATO is producing no constructive response to the Soviet disarmament proposals." A number of deputies demanded that the program for the modernization of NATO's nuclear and conventional weapons be renounced.

Well, in the Atlantic camp there are enough sober-minded politicians who realize that attempts by the United States to impose at any price its plans for a new arms upgrading could undermine the disarmament process.

For the first time in the history of the alliance the parliamentarians of the 16 NATO countries were addressed by a representative of the Warsaw Pact states. G. Horn, state secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, set forth the socialist countries' position on questions of security and cooperation in Europe, emphasizing confidence-building measures and measures to lower the level of military confrontation and reduce military budgets.

The 16 flags of the NATO countries displayed in the auditorium of the Hamburg town hall should have demonstrated the unity and cohesion of the bloc's members. But the session showed that doubts as to the correctness of the chosen course are growing in Western Europe.

Impact of Bush Victory on NATO Pondered

PM2811124988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vladislav Drobkov "Viewpoint": "Restructuring in NATO?"]

[Text] George Bush's election as U.S. President was received by Washington's West European NATO allies as a pledge of the continuity of U.S. policy within this bloc. But continuity by no means signifies uniformity. Although the vice president has faithfully followed the course determined by R. Reagan all these years and has frequently appeared before West Europeans as its convinced propagandist, the style or methods of transatlantic relations, if not the content, may change with the replacement of the boss of the White House next January. In all probability the new U.S. Administration will have to undertake a virtual reanalysis of the development of relations with its allies and, quite probably, make certain amendments.

However, West Europe has recently shown a desire to rethink the difficult complex of ties with its transoceanic partner. This applies to all spheres—from trade to military-political commitments. It is not only a matter of people in the European NATO capitals wanting to reserve for themselves more favorable conditions for cooperation and to persuade Washington to consider its allies' interests more respectfully, on the basis of their increased economic and military potential. The point is that the changes occurring in the world under the influence of the new political thinking that is being insistently

introduced by the USSR into the practice of interstate relations have even made clear to many NATO leaders the need to reexamine the strategy of East-West ties and ties within the North Atlantic alliance at the same time.

That is why it is not surprising that FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited the U.S. capital a few days after the presidential election. These leaders traditionally set the tone in the still discordant choir of West European Atlanticists, although, their positions sometimes differ. You get the impression that Bonn is prepared for more far-reaching steps than London in order to organize new security and cooperation relations in Europe. Thus, although people in both these capitals support the plans for preserving and modernizing NATO's tactical nuclear arms, their views on the forms, schedules, and terms of this modernization are disparate. They also assess differently the level of the "Soviet threat" to the West. The degree of these countries' participation in East-West economic cooperation is also different. Lastly, Bonn and London even view differently the prospects for economic, financial, and political integration in West Europe itself.

Once in Washington, I believe the FRG and British leaders each tried to assume the role of the most privileged U.S. partner. And at the same time that of spokesman for the interests of the West European allies. Although, I repeat, these interests are now by no means homogeneous.

The results of the visits and Western observers' commentaries indicate that Margaret Thatcher was greeted in Washington a little more cordially than the FRG chancellor. The traditional ties of the "special relationship" evidently made an impact, as did the closeness between the philosophy of the U.S. Republicans and the British Tories. It is no coincidence that London's press wrote with pride that "Reagan has given Thatcher leadership of the free world...."

Leaving aside the question of which of the West European allies is dearer to Washington, let me point out the common factor uniting both visits. In their talks with Reagan and Bush both H. Kohl and M. Thatcher devoted special attention to the prospects for developing relations between the West and the USSR and other socialist countries. Both guests convinced the Americans of the need to elaborate an all-embracing concept for such relations and to undertake a joint analysis of security problems.

Analysis is a good thing, but in putting forward this idea the Western leaders are once again indirectly confirming that they lack a common coordinated response to the challenge thrown down by the new political thinking; more correctly, to the challenge of the times themselves. Although persuaded of the decrepitude of the dogmas and strategy of the "cold war" period, the North Atlanticists have still been unable to find something to replace them....

Will the change in the U.S. Administration help the NATO bloc to manage this task? This is difficult to answer at present. We must wait for George Bush and his team now being formed to clearly state their priorities in international policy. One thing is clear: The West European bloc allies are increasingly, persistently urging Washington to elaborate a common strategy and are at the same time calling for relations within the NATO framework to be brought into line with the the changing realities of the modern world.

History Dictates Need for 'Vigilance'

PM2511104788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin review under the rubric "Notes on Books": "No Right to Complacency"]

[Text] Tangible, hopeful signs are emerging in the historical battle between reason and insanity. The world is looking to the future with greater optimism. Optimism, however, has nothing in common with complacency. The distance separating us from that difficult time when we heard the summons "War! Jump to it—on the double!" is too brief. As it is from the time when the "nuclear sword" was ready to go into action not only on the hypocritical pretext of "massive retaliation" but also in the absence of any prior attack.

In this sense the book by Igor Nechayev, "Degrees of Nuclear Insanity," (I.V. Nechayev, Degrees of Nuclear Insanity, Voyenizdat, 1988) perhaps serves as a serious warning against a too frivolous attitude toward the danger of war and as an appeal for high vigilance. At the same time it is also an appeal for reason, goodwill, and good sense.

The facts quoted in the book have receded into the past now and become the property of history. But surely history helps us to interpret the present, to assess what has been achieved in the difficult struggle for peaceful existence. Even in just the 8 years Eisenhower was in power, 155 articles on how to make more convenient, effective use of nuclear weapons were published in the army journal MILITARY REVIEW. It must be said that "massive retaliation" was not just idle talk in the White House and the Pentagon. Serious preparations were made to drop a bomb on the Soviets, an entire mechanism for the use of nuclear weapons was developed, and chiefs with the right to give the command "Fire!" at the appropriate level were appointed.

The events of a later period showed just how explosive such a mechanism was. One of the most serious episodes in history was the crisis off Cuban shores in the autumn of 1962, which is discussed in detail in the book. A crisis

was averted. Responsibility for the fate of peace prevailed over ambition. But was the Caribbean episode a good lesson in history? For some, yes. But the "hawks" drew a different conclusion. In their opinion the lesson was that it is essential to gain incontestable military superiority over the Soviet Union and then act from a position of diktat in situations similar to the Caribbean crisis.

Time showed that precisely this course of action formed the basis of Washington policy in the years that followed. Unfortunately, the newly elected U.S. president has also declared his firm commitment to the position-of-strength policy. This cannot be ignored. Faith in a safe future and the triumph of common sense must not weaken efforts to enhance the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces, which remain a reliable guarantor of peace.

Moscow Hosts Roundtable on Democratization

PM2811105588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Opinions Exchanged"]

[Text] An international "roundtable" meeting on problems of democratic alternatives and the democratization of contemporary societies was held in Moscow 22-24 November. It was organized by the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the World Economy and International Relations at the initiative of the journal MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA. Taking part in the exchange of opinions with their Soviet colleagues were eminent scientists from party scientific institutions in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, as well as representatives of a number of European communist and social-democratic parties.

The discussion centered on questions of the meaning of democracy under the conditions of the technological revolution, and the thrust of the development of democratic institutions and processes in different societies. Great attention was devoted to questions of the restructuring and democratization of Soviet society and to questions of the avenues—opened up by restructuring and democratization—of the quest for answers to the complex problems of social progress that are of importance to all mankind.

The exchange of opinions, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, demonstrated a broad range of agreement and the great profitability of cooperation on theoretical questions between sociologists of the socialist countries and representatives of various currents in the West European countries' left-wing camp.

United States & Canada

U.S. Visa Refusal for 'Arafat Termed 'Blunder'

LD2811172788 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS political commentator Albert Balebanov:

The U.S. Administration has perpetrated a new anti-Palestinian act by refusing an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), who was to attend the curent U.N. General Assembly session in New York. The PLO leader planned to time his speech there to the international day of solidarity with the people of Palestine which will be observed tomorrow. He expected to explain the meaning of the decisions passed by the Palestine National Council at its emergency session in Algiers. Their key purpose was to proclaim an independent Palestinian state, to approve the 242 and 338 Security Council resolutions on a peaceful Middle East settlement and to condemn terrorism.

Washington's step was promptly and resolutely condemned both by the United Nations and many of its members, including the United States's West-European allies under the NATO bloc. In protest against this decision the Arab League nations announced their intention to secure the transfer of U.N. deliberations on the Palestinian people's inalienable rights from New York to Geneva.

There is no doubt that the White House's unseemly decision was taken under strong pressure from Israel and the influential Zionist lobby in the United States proper, which is going out of its way to stop the positive reaction to the results of the Algiers Palestine National Council session from spreading throughout the world. According to the "NEW YORK TIMES", Tel Aviv is delighted by Washington's decision, as it meets the stand of Yitzhak Shamir's government, holding that the "PLO should be neutralised".

It is perfectly obvious that Washington's step is unlawful. It contradicts the United Nations Charter. This is not the first time that Washington behaves in such a manner. It is not without reason, therefore, that Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations, has stressed in his statement that the U.S. decision was incompatible with U.S. commitments as the U.N. host country.

It ought to be noted that the U.S. refusal to issue an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat is bound to complicate the U.N. General Assembly's discussion of the Middle East and Palestinian problem. Noteworthy is the fact that the U.S. decision has rallied in protest both the radical and moderate Arab regimes, which have condemned Washington and declared their support to the just struggle of the PLO. The Arab states, including those that have close ties with the United States, regard the Reagan administration's anti-Palestine action as a step intended to prevent the U.N. General Assembly from backing the PNC decisions, promoting as they do a peaceful settlement in the Middle East in keeping with principles of international law.

By its decision Washington has once more demonstrated its double approach to the Middle East settlement. Reagan's administration has claimed more than once that it stands for a balanced solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. But when, thanks to PNC decisions, the way was finally opened to constructive steps, the White House disclosed its true face of an unconditional supporter of its strategic ally—Israel, which is thwarting the search for peace in the region. The United States' attitude to the Palestine liberation movement has become a sort of touchstone, which has brought to light this country's true goals in the Middle East, boiling down to a perpetuation of Israel's occupation of Palestinian lands. Equally hypocritical is the pretext that the PLO is involved in terorism, which Washington used to refuse 'Arafat an entry visa.

It appears that this U.S. action is a serious political blunder of Washington's diplomacy.

U.S. Hindering Settlement

MB2811201788 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] Usually it takes an emergency situation to prompt the United Nations secretary general to criticize a member of the United Nations, and this is just a situation. By refusing to issue an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, the United States authorities violate an agreement that says people invited by the United Nations cannot be prevented from coming to the United Nations Headquarters. And, in this case, the person invited represents the Palestine Liberation Organization, an unconditional that has had observer status at the United Nations since 1974.

The unlawful action has caused worldwide protest [word indistinct] even some European allies of the United States have voiced their disagreement. France and Italy have called on the United States to reconsider the decision, which, incidentally, was personally taken by the secretary of state, George Shultz, and approved by President Reagan.

So what's behind Washington's open defiance of the international community? Some observers believe it's a response to the pressure imposed by influential Zionist organizations in the United States. Others attribute it to a wish to demonstrate unconditional support for Israel, the only country, incidentally, that has approved the United States' action.

But the main reason, I believe, is quite another. The United States wants to prevent a fair political settlement in the Middle East. Important, constructive shifts have taken place in the position of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as can be seen by the decisions of the recent sessions of the Palestinian parliament.

The shifts show desire for compromise. Foreign ministers of the European Economic Community countries have pointed out that a favorable situation [word indistinct] to adjust a most acute regional conflict by peaceful political means [words indistinct] as if the United States was to prevent this. How else can we interpret the decision to deny a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization the right to address the United Nations?

The refusal may well prevent discussion of the Palestinian problem at the United Nations. Washington talks about wanting a Middle East settlement, but what it does points to quite the opposite.

Report on Visa Denial

LD2711014988 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] The United States has denied an entry visa to Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat, who was planning to address the United Nations general Assembly. The denial is contained in a State Department statement in Washington. In accordance with an agreement on the territorial situation of United Nations Headquarters, Washington had pledged to admit foreign nationals traveling to the United States on United Nations business. The State Department statement says that Yasir 'Arafat's visit would have threatened American security.

In 1974 the PLO chairman spoke at the General Assembly. 'Arafat's present planned visit to the United Nations was connected with the 15th November declaration of an independent Palestinian state at the National Council of Palestine. More than 50 countries have recognized the independent state. The National Council of Palestine supported the UN resolution on the right of all states in the Middle East, including Israel, to an independent and peaceful existence.

Shultz Cited on Upcoming Gorbachev Visit

PM2811101788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Substantive Discussion Ahead"]

[Text] Bonn, 24 Nov—The upcoming meeting in New York between Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan and George Bush, who assumes that post early next year, opens up the opportunity for a substantive exchange of opinions on topical problems. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz stated this in an interview published today in the West German weekly DIE ZEIT.

The New York meeting, he continued, is not intended to be on the scale of the Soviet-U.S. summits in Geneva, Washington, Moscow, and Reykjavik; nevertheless, it is a good thing when the leaders of two countries meet. One reason for the improved atmosphere in U.S.-Soviet relations is the fact that the U.S. President and CPSU Central Committee general secretary have already met four times. As a result it has already become customary to discuss existing problems. Some of them we can solve, others not, but we are making gradual progress. That is the right way, he added.

Touching on disarmament problems, he noted that progress has been made at talks on reducing strategic offensive arms despite the fact that certain disputes, whose solution requires persistent work, remain. I cannot predict, the secretary of state went on, how quickly they will be solved, but a solution is undoubtedly possible. At the same time it is important to start talks on conventional arms and reach an accord on asymmetrical reductions in this sphere. Shultz also pointed to the importance of talks on a general and complete ban on chemical weapons.

According to him, disarmament problems are a priority in the U.S. Administration's policy. The secretary of state thinks that talks should be held simultaneously on all three aspects of disarmament: strategic offensive arms, conventional arms, and chemical waepons. The quicker one of these problems is solved, the better, he stressed.

Grain Agreement With U.S. Renewed

LD2811153788 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. agreement on grain deliveries, which was signed on Aug. 25, 1983, has been extended until Dec. 31, 1990, under a protocol signed today at the USSR Ministry for External Economic Relations.

It provides for annual Soviet purchases of nine million tons of American grain, soya beans and soya oil-seed meal and makes it possible, if need be, to buy extra quantities of this produce.

The USSR has already bought more than 5.5 million tons of corn and over one million tons of soya beans and soya oil-seed meal, to be supplied in the 1988-89 agricultural year. These purchases will be counted as part of the sides' contributions to fulfilling the protocol.

The sides agreed that before the protocol expires, they will hold talks on an agreement for a period beyond the year 1990.

Soviet-U.S. Human Rights Forum Concludes

PM2511115188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Conclusion of Interparliamentary Seminar"]

[Text] In accordance with the agreement reached between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress, the first Soviet-U.S. interparliamentary seminar on questions of humanitarian cooperation and human rights was held in Moscow 14-18 November. The creation of this permanent mechanism reflects the higher level of Soviet-U.S. political dialogue and collaboration on problems of global human value, and primarily in the sphere of ensuring fundamental human rights and freedoms.

The participants in the seminar decided that the accords and mutual understandings enshrined in the joint statements on the results of the Washington and Moscow meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan provide a sound basis for dialogue between the USSR and the United States at different levels on the problems of human rights and humanitarian issues. Instituted by way of development of the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, the permanent interparliamentary seminar—taking into account the representative composition of its members—is called upon to serve as an important channel for this dialogue which will help to strengthen mutual trust, deepen mutual understanding, and achieve practical solutions for questions of a humanitarian nature.

During the sittings of the seminar and of the working groups set up by its participants, there was reciprocal briefing on how their countries implement the freedoms of conscience, speech, and assembly; on how questions of man's mutual relations with society and the law are solved; and on questions of freedom of movement, contacts, and information.

The discussion of all these questions proceeded in a spirit of openness and frankness. There are unsolved problems on both sides. Certain concerns were voiced, specific questions were raised. This process demonstrated mutual desire to better understand the positions and motivations raised by the other sides. The discussion was extensive and constructive.

It was agreed that future seminars will be held in Moscow and Washington alternately. At the same time, different new forms of contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress on various problems of a humanitarian nature will be applied.

The members of the U.S. Congress who took part in the seminar visited Leningrad 18-19 November.

The following USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies took part in the seminar's work on the Soviet side: V.V. Zagladin (leader), A.S. Yeliseyev, Ye.A. Isayev, B.V. Kravtsov, I.D. Laptev, V.G. Lomonosov, K.M. Moldobayev, M.S. Pichuzhkin, L.B. Shapiro, L.K. Shepetis, V.A. Aksenov, A.Ya. Sukharev, V.P. Trushin.

The following members of the U.S. Congress took part in the seminar sittings on the U.S. side: S. Hoyer (leader of the delegation), D. DeConcini, C. Grassley, B. Richardson, C. Smith, D. Ritter, J. Porter, J. Lewis, J. LaFalce, M. Edwards, C. Shaw, and also R. Schifter, U.S. assistant secretary of state; R. Lehman, U.S. assistant secretary of defense; and L. Laun, U.S. assistant secretary of state for commerce.

Review of Seminar

PM2511163588 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 48, 26 Nov-2 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 24 Nov 88) p 7

[Unattributed report: "USSR-U.S.A.: Human Rights Seminar"]

[Text] A news conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center was devoted to the results of the first Soviet-U.S. interparliamentary seminar on questions of humanitarian cooperation and human rights. Soviet and foreign journalists were addressed by seminar participants V.V. Zagladin, leader of the Soviet delegation and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Foreign Affairs Commission, and S. Hoyer, head of the U.S. delegation and member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

S. Hoyer reported that, during the sittings which were held, the U.S. side handed over to Soviet representatives a list of more than 600 specific cases on which the United States expresses its concern.

Two "historic" events took place during the meetings, the head of the U.S. delegation stressed. The first was a lunch to which were invited Soviet Government representatives and persons who are known in the United States as representatives of "unofficial" circles. I saw for myself, S. Hoyer said, how R. Kuznetsov, head of the Visas and Registration Department, held a personal conversation lasting more than 1 hour with Yu. Kosharovskiy, who applied to emigrate from the USSR back in 1971 and whose application was turned down for reasons of state secrecy. The fact that such a debate took place testifies to important changes in the USSR, S. Hoyer noted.

We perceived as another important event the reception for more than 100 Soviet citizens trying to leave the USSR or to visit other countries for reunification with their relatives, and also persons who are demanding the freedom to perform religious cults and legalization of the

Catholic Church in the Ukraine. This reception was held at the U.S. ambassador's residence. The delegation led by Mr Zagladin openly and substantively discussed their applications.

V. Zagladin noted that the holding of this seminar is an indication of the changes occurring in our country and in Soviet-U.S. relations. He announced that a number of interesting suggestions was put forward during the discussion, and in particular a suggestion to conduct a comparative analysis of both countries' human rights legislation.

Replying to journalists' questions, V. Zagladin announced that about 80,000 persons from among those who had previously applied had left the USSR in the first 10 months of this year. About 40,000 persons who had previously been denied permission to leave for reasons of state secrecy have left the USSR in the last 2 years. Permission to leave is refused in only 1.4 percent of the total applications.

V. Zagladin also announced that there are 16 persons serving sentences in connection with breaches of legislation on religious cults. Of these, six are being detained, while the rest are serving other forms of sentence. The question of early release is being considered in the cases of 10 of these 16 persons. Furthermore, nobody has been sentenced under these articles in the last 2 years.

Sentences under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code are being served by 2 persons, and 5 others are in exile. Sentences directly under Article 190 (1) are being served by 6 persons, while sentences coupled with other articles of the code (robbery, murder, and so on) are being served by 23 persons.

Dialogue Advances

PM2311144388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Gennadiy Vasilyev "Viewpoint": "Dialogue Is Being Organized"]

[Text] Until recently this was one of the paradoxes of our time. The East-West dialogue on humanitarian questions and human rights—a sphere of no critical significance for states' existence or, to use the Western expression, "survival"—was more difficult than ever. Even in the sphere directly affecting countries' national security—questions of arms control and disarmament—the talks were, if not always productive, then at any rate quite businesslike. But on questions of humanitarian cooperation and human rights it was something in the order of a dialogue of the deaf.

I believe that this is explained by the extreme ideologization of foreign policy relations at a time when not only general human but also real national interests were put on the backburner, if only to prove the superiority of a socioeconomic system. This situation damaged the cause of cooperation between peoples and ran contrary to the general trend of improving the international situation. Fortunately, there are signs that our relations with the West are becoming more reasonable and realistic in this sphere. You reach this conclusion when you acquaint yourself with the work of the Soviet-U.S. interparliamentary seminar on questions of humanitarian cooperation and human rights—the first cooperation of this kind and scale between the two countries' parliamentarians.

The idea of this dialogue originates from the December 1987 Washington summit. Speaking at a news conference following its closure, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Let's move these questions—of democracy, human rights, and everything that relates to the humanitarian sphere—from the plane of political speculation to the plane of real study and familiarization with the values that the American people have shaped along the path of their choice and that the Soviet people attained after making their choice in 1917."

And so to the implementation of the idea that met with understanding among the members of the U.S. Congress—the arrival in our country of U.S. legislators and the first Soviet-U.S. interparliamentary seminar on questions of humanitarian cooperation and human rights. During their week's stay in Moscow the congressmen and senators held a number of joint sessions with USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, met with activists from the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation's Public Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights, and were received by A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The Soviet participants in the meetings talked about the reform of the political system under way in the Soviet Union and the new legislation being drafted which is aimed at developing democracy and the strict observance of human rights. The Americans raised many "acute" questions that formerly had ended in clashes—the freedom to leave the USSR, religious freedoms, and the position of "dissidents." All these questions received specific answers based on an assessment of the real situation and the laws being drafted. For their part, the Soviet participants in the meetings asked the Americans straight questions about the position with regard to entry into the United States, problems of former Soviet citizens who have emigrated to the United States, and so on. It was also interesting to hear a clear response from one Washington legislator that the U.S. authorities' refusal to issue Soviet trade union organizations with entry visas contravenes the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki CSCE. Summing up the results of the debate, S. Hoyer, head of the U.S. delegation and member of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, said: "In the last few days we have done something which, in my opinion, was unprecedented. We have begun to understand one another better."

In the course of the exchange of opinions a new trend emerged increasingly clearly—that of not exchanging propaganda strikes but of comparing the two social

systems' real practice in terms of ensuring fundamental human rights and the conditions for man's existence. There have been and will be differences in our interpretation of human rights. We have different socioeconomic systems, different historical experience, and different traditions. It is important for these differences and this diversity to serve not to set the peoples against one another but to draw them closer together and mutually enrich them in the interests of peace.

It seems that the constructive approach is beginning to assert itself in international life and in the previously laggard area of humanitarian cooperation and the defense of human rights.

AUCCTU Spokesman Criticizes Visa Denial

LD2811151088 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 28 Nov 88

[text] Moscow November 28 TASS—The U.S. Department of State denied entrance visas to a group of editors of Soviet trade union magazines and newspapers that was to visit the USA at the invitation of American trade union bodies, Igor Jurgens, deputy chief of the International Department of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, told a briefing at the press-centre at the USSR Foreign Ministry today. This is the fifth occasion this year when the U.S. side denies entrance visas to representatives of Soviet trade unions invited to the USA by American trade unions.

Igor Jurgens recalled that the Soviet trade union newspaper hosted this year two groups of representatives of sectoral trade unionist press from the USA. American journalists were given broadest of the opportunities to familiarize themselves with Soviet reality, with the course of perestroyka, the place of Soviet trade unions and their press bodies in this process. Numerous meetings and conversations with Soviet people were took place. These contacts "promote a better understanding and, hence, the improvement of Soviet-American relations as a whole," said the spokesman for the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Igor Jurgens said that four weeks ago the U.S. Department of State denied visas to a delegation of the Union of Medical Workers of the USSR invited to a convention of the American Public Health Association.

Igor Jurgens said that perplexity and indignation of Soviet trade unions over the discriminatory policy by the U.S. authorities is shared by working people and trade unionists of the USA, who view this policy as unconstitutional and as infringement of their right to invite guests at their own discretion.

China

Far East Institute Official Comments on Relations

BK2411131188 Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Nov 88 p 4

["Excerpts" from "exclusive" interview with Dr Sergey Goncharov, head of the Sino-Soviet Department in the Institute of Far East, Soviet Academy of Sciences, by Rajiv Shah entitled "Soviet Outlook on Ties With China, in Moscow"; date not given]

[Text] Moscow: In an exclusive interview to PATRIOT, Dr Sergey Goncharov, one of the top-most Soviet Sinologists and head of the Sino-Soviet Department in the Institute of Far-East, Soviet Academy of Sciences, has said that the summit meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping next year will lead to the resolution of the Kampuchean issue. Indicating that the Chinese have come round to the position that the Pol Pot grouping should not participate in the Phnom Penh government after the settlement, he informed that it is quite likely that Pol Pot and his closest men will go to Beijing for good. The Soviet expert, who talked on a whole range of issues from border talks, military presence on both sides of the borders and economic ties, to the summit and Kampuchean issue, informed, the summit will end with the re-establishment of CPSU-CPC ties, thus bringing together the two biggest communist parties. Following are the excerpts from the interview.

The Sino-Soviet border talks again began in the third week of October; can you elaborate upon the problems existing in the border talks and what progress have they made so far?

Dr Goncharov: According to the agreement between the two parties, the results of the talks can be released only officially through the spokesmen of the two delegations. But as I understand, they have made some progress, judging from their official remarks. After each round of the talks the two sides expressed the satisfaction over the atmosphere of the talks and willingness of the other side to cooperate. Besides, they reached an agreement on the creation of the working groups of experts, who are dealing not only with the principles of the border issue but also particular matters of the border lines between the two countries. Besides, an agreement was reached about making some photographs through the aircraft together with the Chinese and quite recently they have expressed their satisfaction over the results of the working groups which are dealing with the eastern part of the border, from the border of Mongolia to the border of North Korea. To summarize the progress made in the talks, I think the main point is that two sides proceeded from some contradictions in the principle which was present earlier, in 1987, to discussing some particular matters in a businesslike manner. But, of course, there are some particular questions on the border line which are very complicated and which are still to be solved.

Can you specify which are these?

Well, you know that on the islands on the river Amur we have our principled position. We think that the border line should be the middle of the channel. But on some places of the river the size of the river does not allow the two sides to reach a common conclusion, as to where the line of the middle of the channel should be placed. It is very complicated; it is a river. It keeps changing its course from time to time. It is a natural reason, but still the maps according to which the question was settled some 100 years ago do not coincide with today's situation. But I do not want to be more specific because it is a delicate problem, but I think that the most important thing is that we see that we want to get this question settled. And, as your Ambassador T N Kaul pointed out in the article recently published in our journal, that the talks have progress and the Chinese have given up their stance on some of the territories which it claimed earlier its own. I think the conclusion is interesting, as it shows the flexibility of the Chinese side on the border question. And it is in line with the general foreign policy of China.

There are some who allege that the Soviets have changed their stand to accept the middle of the channel principle. If this is true, then what forced the Soviets to accept this stand?

No, this is not true. At all the three stages of the talks—in 1964, through the 1970s, and now from 1987, the two sides proceeded from the understanding that the middle of the river should be the border line in the eastern sector. But because of the general atmosphere of the Sino-Soviet relations, and because of some specific questions, the two sides just could not cooperate, or solve this particular question. But the principle itself is not so new.

What is the problem of the western sector? Has it been examined, or is there any other thing...

It has not been examined yet, because when the talks began in February 1987, the two sides agreed in principle to start the examination of the entire border line beginning with the eastern part of the borders.

But can you say what is the problem with the western side?

There are some problems in the region of Pamir, where the two sides have some different approaches on the border line. But I must tell you once again that it has not been touched upon as yet...

A recent Soviet publication on the Asia-Pacific region publishes a map of the whole area, imposing on it an inverted 'T' to show the existence of military tensions there. One line runs from left to right on the Soviet-Chinese borders, while the other on the left side is a perpendicular one indicating tensions in the Pacific near the Soviet coast. Does it mean that the Soviet Union still regards the Soviet-Chinese borders as an area of tension because of the troops present on both sides of the borders?

No. I must tell you on the basis of our studies that the Chinese have stopped mentioning the presence of our troops in Mongolia and on the Soviet-Chinese borders as a direct threat to their security, beginning from 1986. Both Chinese leaders and their official foreign policy spokesmen have stopped making the reference to the threat emanating out of this troops presence. Even earlier, in 1982-83, they concluded that the Soviet Union due to its internal situation has no real plans to attack or make large scale military provocations against China; they concluded, such a possibility does not exist.

They only regard the presence of our troops as a "potential threat" and thus explain the presence of their troops on the borders with the Soviet Union and Mongolia. But as you know, due to the efforts of both the sides, for several years there have been no clashes and our defense minister Dimitriy Yazov declared in February this year that we will not increase the number of our troops. He also declared that we will decrease the number of military exercises in the area and also the troops presence. Besides, our foreign ministry officials have made the statements to the effect that we really have plans to decrease the number of the troops. We have already pulled out some troops from Mongolia; besides, the INF treaty with the United States has also helped reduce tensions in the area. According to the agreement we have to destroy the intermediate range missiles stationed in the Eastern part of the Soviet Union. Another example is the activity of the Soviet Pacific Fleet; even the Australians, Indonesians and others acknowledge that the fleet's activity has decreased over the recent times. And Gorbachev has proposed at Krasnoyarsk that we are ready to do away with our fuelling station at Cam Ranh (Vietnam) used by our fleet. If you read some interviews given by the Chinese military officials to Americans and some westerners one can get a very clearcut impression that they are not talking about any direct military threat but only about the problem itself. Because of this, I think that a compromise is possible.

Do you mean to say that the troops withdrawal is now on agenda?

I think that the best way to do it is through the logic of military matters. Sooner or later it will come but it will not be complete one-sided withdrawal. The best way to deal with this problem is to deal with the problem on a bilateral basis, and also bilateral control. By doing this, the interests of the other side will be taken care of; it will help solve border problems with other neighbouring countries, such as Chinese-Mongolian and Chinese-Indian. However, the most important thing is the intention. Right now the Chinese do believe that we have no

evil intentions towards China. This is a positive reality; and we have the same approach. Hence in principle the time is ripe for withdrawal, though I can't say when will it take place.

Speaking at the Vladivostok dialogue for peace and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, Mr Pu Shan, director of the Chinese World Economy Society, said that Kampuchea is the "biggest international problem" today. He added, it should be solved first. What's your comment on this?

You know that progress was made recently.

But then there was a deceleration, too, if one goes by what the Soviet foreign ministry spokesman told pressmen a few days back...

Yes, but I think it is only natural to have problems when you have such questions as that of Kampuchea. The regional conflicts are very complicated. Look at Afghanistan. We have a breakthrough in principle and the withdrawal of Soviet troops has begun, but other participants of the Geneva accord are making the situation more and more complicated. But this complication is of a different kind; it is a complication of the positive kind. Of course, the parties involved in Afghanistan are trying to influence the events as much as possible. It is natural. But at the same time, they have to talk to each other. And we reach an understanding that everything cannot be made by force, we only have to put an effort in talks on what is the way out. In Kampuchea, in some respects, the situation is similar. I think everyone now believes that the Vietnamese intend to withdraw their troops from Kampuchea, up to early 1990. I think they will do this. At the same time, the majority of the countries of the international community have agreed in principle on three points (1) that it should be a political solution, (2) it must be accompanied with the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, and (3) that some guarantees should be made that the regime of the Khmer Rouge is not in power again. It is very interesting that the Chinese position is developing in the same direction. They still have not made clearcut statements, but the official position now is that they do not want any party participating in the talks to take an upper hand. As to Soviet-Chinese relations, for the Chinese one of the most important things is that the Soviet Union should begin to talk with them on the problem; and that the problem is not just of the Soviet Union but as a very important one for both the sides. We are not directly involved...

Now, taking together all that you have said, what kind of package do you visualise at the Soviet-Chinese summit to take place sometime in the first part of next year?

First about the foreign ministers' talks which will take place in December this year: the Chinese have formulated their agenda; they want to talk about Kampuchea, troops in Mongolia, general questions of Soviet-Chinese relations etc. As for the summit, we hope that some complicated questions of the regional issues in our relations with China in principle will be settled. We will reach a principled agreement. As you know, the Chinese have their condition for the summit. They say, if there is some progress on the Kampuchean question, we can have the summit. At the same time they want to have the summit. However, I hope that the regional issues will not be the major problem during the summit. I think that the aim of China is to improve its international standing in the world, to strengthen the economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, and at the same time not to disturb the existing balance of power in the structure of international relations.

The situation will become better in this respect, leading to relaxation of tensions in Asia. One more point: I think the two sides will formulate in general the new principles on which Soviet-Chinese relations could be restored. The main thing is that it will not be any kind of a political-military alliance aimed at any third country but it will be a relationship based on the five principles of coexistence and satisfying the needs of both the countries in any field. The Soviet-Chinese relations will be good for security in Asia: once normalization will take place, the two countries will be eager to preserve it. And because of that, if not directly then at least objectively we will have a positive influence on the behaviour of each other.

Can you say that the summit will also normalise the relations between the Soviet and Chinese Communist parties?

Yes, of course, certainly. If the summit does take place, normalization will also take place. It is very natural. We have restructuring and reforms, and therefore we want to exchange opinions. But I think that party-to-party normalization would not mean that two would work out a common line in the world communist movement. The times have changed. But the main aim will be to exchange opinion about the current problems of building socialism; and in this we have very many valuable experiencess to share with them.

Union of Sinologists Opens First Congress

OW2811004788 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] The All-Union Sinologists Association opened its first congress in Moscow today. Titarenko, chairman of the association and director of the Soviet Far East Institute, delivered the opening address. He said: The Soviet Sinologists regard it as their obligation to help promote the development of Soviet-Chinese relations and tap the potential of Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

The 3-day congress will elect members of the council and adopt a constitution for the union. A delegation from the Chinese Society of Soviet and East European Studies has been invited to attend the congress.

Congress Ends

OW2811013288 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] The Congress of the All-Union Sinologists Association closed in Moscow 24 November. During the congress, the Soviet scientists demonstrated their readiness to cooperate with their Chinese counterparts in developing goodneighborly relations between the two countries and promoting peace and development. Specific plans were worked out during the congress to carry out a comprehensive study program, entitled "China and Socialism—Past, Present, and Future," which was formulated by the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Under this program, Sinology institutes in the Soviet Union will make a concerted effort to collectively study the development of contemporary China, thus enabling the Sinologists to play a greater role in drafting concrete measures for promoting Soviet-Chinese relations in all fields.

Report on Closing

OW2811015788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] The first congress of the All-Union Sinologists Association closed at the Far East Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow. On this, our station reporter Dmitriyev has filed the following report:

The congress discussed major aspects in the theory and practice of Sinology in the Soviet Union (?at a time when) comprehensive reform and renewal had been taking place in the country. China is also carrying out gigantic reform. The two countries have influenced, learned from, and assisted each other with their progress in reform. In the course of reform, there are many (?obvious) similarities between the two countries, and Sino-Soviet cooperation has been deepened in various fields. It seems that the day is not too far distant for the total normalization of relations between the two countries.

Therefore, the Soviet Sinologists are now confronted with new, major tasks. They should study in depth China's social and economic reform, summarize and enrich the relationship between the theory and practice of scientific socialism in China, and work out scientific suggestions and measures for promoting Sino-Soviet relations. In order to coordinate scientific research on China, the congress adopted a long-term comprehensive program, entitled "China and Socialism—Past, Present, and Future." Under the program, the Soviet scientists should study Sinology from a global viewpoint, improve research quality, and establish ties in all fields with their Chinese counterparts. It is gratifying to see that exchanges between Soviet and Chinese scientists have developed smoothly. The presence of a Chinese scientists delegation, led by Liu Keming, deputy director of the Chinese Society of Soviet and East European Studies, at the congress has sufficed to prove this point. In his speech at the congress, Liu Keming said:

[Begin Liu recording] We have watched with great interest the Soviet comrades' study of the structural reform which has been carried out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Study and publicity on China conducted by the Soviet Sinologists have undoubtedly produced fruitful results. Imbued with friendly feelings for the Chinese people, the Soviet Sinologists have closely watched construction in China and given an objective and comprehensive account on the situation there to the Soviet people. Soviet Sinologists have made their share of contributions to enhancing mutual understanding between the people of the two countries. I sincerely hope them greater successes in the their work. [end recording]

Radio Cites PRC Media on Gorbachev Foreign Policy

OW2611214388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Commentary by station observer Mulatov: "The Constructive Partnership"]

[Text] Recently, world newspapers have attached great importance to Soviet leader Gorbachev's friendly visit to India. It is worth noting that RENMIN RIBAO has judged the current visit to be of a scope beyond the expansion of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and India. RENMIN RIBAO holds that this is a component part of the Soviet Union's recent constructive activities in foreign affairs.

In this connection, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China also pointed out the forthcoming major events such as French President Mitterrand's visit to the Soviet Union in a few days, Comrade Gorbachev's scheduled visit to Cuba and Britain in the early part of December and the Soviet leader's trip to New York to take part in the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. Dear listeners, we now present a short commentary by station observer Mulatov, entitled: The Constructive Partnership:

The Soviet Union has maintained and expanded constructive political dialogues with countries of various continents. Under all circumstances, the goal of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is to expand its constructive partnership with other countries. The Soviet Union will make joint efforts together with all countries in disregard of different social systems in order to solve various global and regional problems. In the past 2 years, Soviet leader Comrade Gorbachev has made two visits to India. Those major international events have aroused the universal attention of various countries. There are many reasons for such attention. First of all, it is because the Soviet Union and the largest nonaligned country are playing a positive role in defending and establishing a world free from violence and nuclear weapons. These principles can be seen from the historical Delhi Declaration made 2 years ago.

The XINHUA NEWS AGENCY has noted that, in the course of the recent meeting between the Soviet Union and India, the two countries extensively discussed a number of issues, including the question of disarmament and the political solution to various issues in Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Near East, and the Indian Ocean Region. The XINHUA NEWS AGENCY pointed out that relations between the Soviet Union and China and between India and China are also on the agenda of their talks. In this respect, I wish to cite remarks by Soviet leader Comrade Gorbachev in accepting the Indira Gandhi Award. Comrade Gorbachev said: When you think about countries like the Soviet Union, India, and China, you will naturally be convinced that the friendly relations among them will have an important bearing on the fate of Asia and progress in the world. This is a very important thought. We must not forget that China, India, and the Soviet Union have a total population which accounts for two-fifths of mankind. Therefore, the strengthening of a positive situation in the world relies to a great extent on the mutual understanding and cooperation among China, India, and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people are glad about the signs of improvement in relations between India and China. Of course, they also hold hope for the future development of relations between the Soviet Union and China. As Comrade Gorbachev said in his speech in New Delhi, it seems a summit between the Soviet Union and China is nearing.

Dear listeners, we can see that a brand new situation is gradually emerging in the world. Constructive dialogues based on a new ideology will gradually eliminate the situation of confrontation. The cooperation between the Soviet Union and China will play an important role beyond description. I am convinced that this cooperation is as important as the constructive partnership between the Soviet Union and India.

Tourist Contacts on Amur River To Increase

OW2611065088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] As winter approaches inland navigation on the Amur has stopped. In recent years the river has become a busy transportation route and has reliably insured the increasing need of Soviet-Chinese trade. This year, for the first time, the Amur has become a tourist route for people living in border areas between the Soviet Union and China. Heilongjiang Province and Amur Oblast signed an agreement in this respect this summer. Since then about 400 Soviet tourists visited Heihe City and about the same number of Chinese tourists used boats to cross the river to visit Blagoveshchensk, the oblast's center.

With the Amur's freezing over, Heihe and Blagoveschchensk tourists will take buses. Soviet and Chinese tourist organizations have formulated plans for to cooperate in promoting tourism. They will increase mutual visit dates and travel routes.

Soviet Ambassador Honors Chinese Academic

OW2811002788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 24 Nov 88

[From the "Soviet Press on China" Program]

[Text] According to a report by the SELSKAYA ZHIZN, a ceremony was held in the Soviet Embassy in China to confer the certificate of foreign academician of the USSR Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences on Wang Lianzheng, president of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences, on 22 November.

While awarding the certificate, Troyanovsky, Soviet ambassador to China, pointed out: Wang Lianzheng has made great contributions to the development of agricultural sciences in the world, as well as to the cooperation between Soviet scientists and their Chinese counterparts.

Northeast Asia

Murakhovskiy Meets DPRK Vice Premier

LD2311050688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, today received Kim Pok-sin, candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, deputy premier of the DPRK Administrative Council, and chairman of the Korean part of the Soviet-Korean Intergovernmental Consultative Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Questions.

Some results of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries were discussed during the conversation. [passage indistinct] Questions of the development of direct production ties (?and) the creation of joint enterprises, and some other questions, were also examined. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 23 November in a similiar report adds the following sentence: "The sides stressed the need to ensure timely fulfillment of all commitments by the relevant Soviet and Korean organizations."]

The conversation passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

South Koreans Demand Former President's Trial

LD2411090288 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Tokyo November 24 TASS—The apologies, which the ex-president of South Korean Chon Tu-hwan was compelled to make publicly for the abuses perpetrated during the years he was in office, did not appease

the South Koreans. This is clearly shown by the returns of the public opinion poll carried out by the South Korean government-run KBS broadcasting and television network.

Only 18 per cent of the polled said they believed the ex-ruler's apologies, expressed on the national television yesterday. More than a half of them do not believe that Chon Tu-hwan, who said he would turn over his property to the government, including his house, 3.3 million dollars in cash and 20 million dollars "in political funds", had not hoarded up money abroad "for a rainy day".

According to opposition groups, Chon Tu-hwan had invested dishonestly amassed funds in U.S., Swiss and other Western banks. Almost three quarters of the South Koreans, whom the KBS had polled by telephone, demand that the ex-dictator should face a National Assembly hearing.

South Korean students, who staged a series of demonstrations yesterday at Seoul, Kwangju and several other towns, plan to call a mass meeting at the capital on November 26 to demand Chon Tu-hwan's arrest and trial. Fearing attacks from members of radical groupings, the deposed ruler and former general left the capital yesterday together with his wife, who is also accused of corruption. Judging by press reports, he intends to take refuge near some army garrison still loyal to him.

Political, Social Renewal in Mongolia
PM2411140388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Sapov article under rubric "From the Socialist Countries: The Life of Fraternal Parties": "In Keeping With Glasnost"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 22 Nov—The process of renewal in the country covers a whole range of problems which it has been decided to discuss at an MPRP Central Committee plenum.

The state of affairs in the republic's social life has been subjected to in-depth analysis for several months now. It has been conducted in an atmosphere of broad glasnost and democracy, to which a series of discussion articles in the press attests. MPRP Central Committee Politburo proposals for the upcoming forum of Communists have now been published.

The Politburo believes that restructuring must begin with changes in the structure of the party Central Committee apparatus and the affirmation of collective leadership principles. It feels it would be expedient to change the rules governing the formation of elected party bodies, on a democratic basis. In particular, it plans to introduce the practice whereby bureau members and the secretaries of party organizations are elected from among a number of candidates, with broad discussion of the nominations and a secret ballot, and also to limit the practice of taking official position into account when electing people to the party Central Committee and party committees at all other levels, and to establish a 5-year term in power for members of party committees and the bureaus of primary organizations.

It is also proposed to redefine the powers of the People's Great Hural, its Presidium, and the republic's Council of Ministers, strengthen the unity of the system of representation, and enhance efficiency and independence in the solution of national economic issues.

With regard to transformations in the spiritual sphere of society, the Politburo believes that it is first of all necessary to eliminate everything superfluous that was introduced into society's creative process during the period of serious violation of revolutionary legality and, in particular, the spread of the Kh. Choibalsan personality cult, which led to massive repressions.

For that reason, the question of the process—curtailed at the beginning of the sixties—of rehabilitating people wrongly accused, the victims of the repressions, is once again on the agenda, and also that of objectively assessing the activity of party and administrative [sovetskiy] cadres in history.

In connection with the renewal of party, organizational, and ideological work and society's political system, it is planned to make the relevant additions and amendments to the MPRP Program and Statutes.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Burma Government Urged on 'Conciliation'
BK2211132788 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 22 Nov 88

["What's Happening in Burma"—station interview with (Yevgeniy Sharilov), former TASS correspondent in Burma and observer of international affairs]

[Text] [Radio Moscow] What is your opinion about the events in Burma today?

[Sharilov] In my view, the political events in Burma today can be best described as a conversation between the deaf and the dumb. Both the military government and spokespersons for key political parties have been expressing an urgent need for national conciliation. Because, were such a conciliation not achieved, it would be very difficult, or perhaps even impossible, for Burma to escape from the deep-rooted problems it is facing today. Despite sharing such a view, no apparent cooperation is in sight between the two sides. I believe this is because of the lack of trust for each other.

The military leadership, which seized the power, has declared that the coup was to restore law and order and peace and tranquillity by putting an end to the lootings,

robberies, and other crimes. There can be no doubt that some poverty-stricken people had indeed taken part in such lootings. But there is also an element of truth in the assertions by the leaders of opposition parties that conditions for such lootings and robberies were purposely created so that stern action could be taken. For instance, the inexplicable escape of thousands of criminals from jails comes to one's mind here. Many Burmese people today say there were purposely released from the prisons.

I believe that under the present situation, the mutual suspicion that exists between the two confronting Burmese sides can be overcome. But there are yet other obstacles on the path that the military authorities have to overcome before they can gain more confidence from the people. The administrative committees and the people's defense militia set up by the people between August and early September evidently show that they can become a democratic people's administrative machinery. But, the military leadership was blind to the fact that it could have cooperated with the people in its efforts to restore law and order in the country. I believe it is because of this reason that the people today are perhaps ignoring the call by the General Saw Maung government to join in the efforts to rehabilitate the country.

[Radio Moscow] But, the military government has declared that it will keep its promise to hold multiparty democratic general elections. Doesn't the present trend of political parties being formed also support this fact?

[Sharilov] Maybe, but the matter is not that easy to explain. I believe the present wave of mushrooming political parties is a natural phenomenon as this follows an almost 26-year ban on political activity for everyone except the Burma Socialist Program Party and organizations under it. But, a source of concern for the newly formed political parties is some of the steps taken by the military government. Although for any country 200 political parties is a bit too much, and even more so for a country like Burma, experts agree that these parties will merge into groups or into coalitions. These political parties, now in their infancy, will only then be able to take part in the election campaign as matured parties. But, the military government has prohibited the merger of political parties and every merger must be approved by the military government. Moreover, the ban on the gathering of four people and above still stands. It is true that political parties have been permitted activity in private homes and buildings, but how many people can get involve in such gatherings? Twenty, perhaps 30. Moreover, it is also difficult for the parties to approach the press. Under such a situation, it is difficult for the political parties to freely compete or to win votes.

[Radio Moscow] But, do you expect the elections to take place under any circumstances?

[Sharilov] To answer that question, I will have to say that I do not agree with the people who think that it depends totally on what the military authorities have in mind. The idea of elections will fade away if no understanding is reached between the present government and the opposition forces. If the grave economic situation in Burma is to be taken into consideration at this point, the question of whether elections will be held become even less dependent on what the military government has in mind. At a time when the people have nothing to eat, democracy will not be the foremost thing on their minds. On the other hand, the economic difficulty being encountered because of the boycott by countries that had been helping Burma is enhancing the possibility of military confrontation. In my opinion the most important point for Burma today is to prevent opposing groups from breaking up into gangs that are engaged in armed conflicts, because that would be a very undesirable situation for both Burma and its neighboring countries.

[Radio Moscow] How, in your opinion, could that be avoided?

[Sharilov] I cannot make a prediction or offer any suggestion about the situation, it is up to the Burmese people to make a decision. I can only say this: prospects still exist for the peaceful settlement of antagonisms in Burma, so think about who best can bring about national conciliation. The fact that the power remains in the hands of the Defense Forces makes them even more responsible to decide on whether a settlement can be negotiated in the country. For whatever the reason, if the government fails to take that action today, it will be very difficult to keep its promise of holding the elections.

[Radio Moscow] Does that mean the opposition forces will have to adopt a wait-and-see attitude?

[Sharilov] No, not really. A lot depends on them also. If they are to run in the elections without any carefully thought out political platforms then it would be tantamount to debasing the importance of the elections which are meant to bring out the wish of the people. Moreover, there are a lot of other things for the political parties to do because they were born out of noble aims. In my opinion, the most important thing today is to explore even the slightest means that will bring an end to the violence and bloodshed. It will be most regrettable if those forces which do not accept the government of Gen Saw Maung are swayed by persuasions or resort to violence out of sheer desperation.

TASS Cites Cambodian Foreign Minister's Remarks

LD2611060588 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Phnom-Penh November 25 TASS—The Paris meeting of Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of Kampuchea, with Sihanouk and Son Sann, leaders of the opposition Kampuchean groups, was a new step in the quest for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem, says an address by the head of the Kampuchean Government to the people of the republic, released here by SPK news agency.

At the same time, both representatives of the opposition sought to revise the accord reached at the informal meeting in Jakarta, concerning the two interdependent key aspects of settlement: the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and creating guarantees against the return of the Pol Pot men to power provided that military aid to the Kampuchean parties is cut off.

They demanded a dissolution of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), the sole force that organizes the armed rebuff to the Khmer Rouge, and, in so doing, they did not propose any measures for abolishing the military might of the Pol Pot clique. If the PRK agreed to meet this demand, the way would have been opened to the recurrence of the bloody genocide, the address stresses.

The PRK will agree to the Khmer Rouge sharing power in a quadripartite coalition government of national concord only on condition that they represent a political rather than military force. Kampuchea's bitter experience shows that they are committed to military methods in the struggle for power and, if this factor is not taken into account, a civil war is inevitable, the document points out.

'Friendly' Consultations With SRV Held 22 Nov

PM2411133588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Vietnam-USSR: Consultations Held"]

[Text] Hanoi, 23 Nov—Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and foreign minister of the SRV, yesterday received I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is in Hanoi for bilateral consultations.

Nguyen Co Thach spoke highly of the results of the Soviet-Indian summit talks held during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to that country.

During the friendly conversation, considerable attention was paid to a Cambodian settlement in the general context of the transformation of Southeast Asia into a peace zone. It was noted with satisfaction that the constructive initiatives of the three Indochinese states have given a powerful impetus to this process. China could make a considerable contribution to the progress of a Cambodian settlement.

Soviet-Vietnamese consultations were held on a wide range of international and regional problems at the SRV Foreign Ministry 21-22 November. Deputy Foreign Minister Tran Quang Co took part in them on the Vietnamese side.

SRV Troop Pullout From Laos Assessed

BK2811160388 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Station observer's article on Vietnam completing the repatriation of its troops from Laos]

[Text] First of all, let me keep you informed on the latest development in the situation. The presence of Vietnamese troops in Laos was in response to a request made by the Lao Government. The Lao Government had requested Vietnam to dispatch a limited number of troops to Laos to help cope with a dangerous situation arising from the Thai administration's provocative acts along the Lao-Thai border area.

During the past 5 years, Thai troops have infiltrated the Lao province of Soyaboury twice, in 1984 and 1987. On those two occasions, the clashes reached an alarming level, far beyond the limit of a regional conflict, and developed into a real war.

Thus, viewed in terms of Lao security, the presence of Vietnamese troops in that country was well justified.

The situation has now changed. Souban Salitthilat, Lao People's Democratic Republic deputy foreign minister, said in Vientiane that Lao security was no longer threatened. Relations with Thailand have been improved considerably since last spring. Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan's visit to Laos, which started on 24 November, is clear evidence of this fact.

Since the danger no longer exists, there is no reason for Vietnamese troops to remain in Laos. After fulfilling their duty toward friends, Vietnamese troops have all been repatriated.

I believe the improvement in the situation will contribute to the success of the talks between Lao and Thai state leaders. The reason is because the Thai administration has always stated that it considered the presence of Vietnamese troops in Laos to be an obstacle to the normalization of Thai-Lao relations. Now, there is no reason for making such a statement. Therefore, Bangkok has every condition for materializing its desire to establish good relations with Laos.

In my opinion, the significance of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Laos should not be limited to the abovementioned fact. I believe the incident will have a greater impact and will affect overall relations among Southeast Asian countries. This is because Vietnam has clearly indicated that its only concern for its Indochinese allies rests with the very security of these allies themselves. As the threat against Lao security no longer exists, Vietnam has immediately withdrawn its troops from that country.

There has been a much-publicized statement saying it is likely that while Vietnam expressed its willingness to effect a troop pullout from Cambodia, realities have shown that it has persisted in its intention to perpetuate its presence in Cambodia. Nevertheless, it is clear that this kind of statement is absolutely no longer valid.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Laos has contributed to consolidating the mutual trust in this region, to promoting peaceful negotiations, and to ensuring cooperation and mutual interests.

This incident has also demonstrated another fact. If Thailand adopts the same goodwill attitude toward Cambodia, which is also Thailand's neighbor; if conditions for guaranteeing the non-return to Cambodia of the Pol Potist clique, which is taking sanctuary in Thailand, are established; and if the Pol Potist clique is denied military aid, then a new and better stage will open immediately for relations between Thailand and the countries of Indochina.

It must be pointed out here that the movement toward such a stage is taking place now, but slower than we expected. Before the coming of the new year, Vietnam withdrew 50,000 troops from Cambodia at one time, which is half of its numerical strength in that country. [sentence as heard] The other half will be repatriated by early 1990 at the latest. It must be said that the Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia may be effected at an even earlier date. However, the pace of the troop withdrawal will depend largely on Thailand's position.

Near East & South Asia

'Secret' U.S.-Iranian Talks Evaluated

NC0311212788 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Western mass media has reported that representatives of the Iranian leadership and U.S. Administration carried out a series of talks on bilateral relations. These secret talks were held on the pretext of (?gaining) Tehran's assistance in the release of the U.S. hostages being held in Lebanon.

Western analysts believe these talks show there is an influential group among the Iranian leadership which favors a rapprochement with the United States.

Meanwhile, the anti-U.S. feelings are not weakening in Iran. On 2 November, Iranian students decided to organize an anti-U.S. march from Tehran University to the building of the former American Embassy, which is known as the nest of spies in Iran. On November 4, 1979, this building was occupied by students following the line of Ayatollah Khomeyni. Their act was aimed at expressing the need to end the spying activities of the U.S. diplomats. Meanwhile, this act by the Iranian students, in the opinion of many observers, was Iran's special reaction to the visit paid by the deposed shah to Washington.

Since then, U.S.-Iranian relations have deteriorated greatly and 4 November each year is marked in Iran by nationwide propaganda against U.S. imperialism.

What is the reason for the steadfastness of the anti-U.S. feeling among the Iranian people? It is deep-rooted both in past and present Iranian-U.S. relations. The list of crimes perpetrated by U.S. imperialism against the Iranian people is extremely long. The CIA organized the coup in Iran 35 years ago which overthrew Dr Mosaddeq's government. The rule of the shah's pro-U.S. regime and of the international oil cartel was established in the country. Memories are still fresh of Iran's economic and political siege after the victory of the anti-monarchical revolution, and the direct aggression by the U.S. military on Iranian territory in April 1980.

The United States' economic sanctions continue even now that Iran is involved in solving its post-war reconstruction problems. At a time when Iran urgently needs money for its reconstruction, the United States is preventing the release of billions of dollars that were taken by members of the shah's family from Iran and which are being kept in U.S. banks.

All this strengthens anti-U.S. feelings in Iran and this is a serious obstacle to the representatives of those forces that want Iran to enter the sphere of U.S. policy. It is under the influence of these forces that the higher echelons of Iran's government have ordered civil servants not to respond to questions by the public on the political impact of Tehran's contacts with the United States and with other Western countries. Such orders have been adopted allegedly out of the need for not revealing government documents and in the interests of Islam.

However, the concern of Iran's public circles over such explanations only increases. Iran's public has not forgotten the secret Washington-Tehran talks that led to the Irangate scandal. After all, representatives of the U.S. Administration stated that the objective behind these talks was to return Iran to the U.S. sphere of influence and to turn it into the fully authorized property of the monopolies and of the Pentagon. Many Iranians express concern over the fact that the outcome of these secret talks between Iran and the United States will possibly be serious concessions to Washington. The people of Iran demand utmost openness in issues pertaining to Iranian-U.S. relations.

Iran's Expanding Ties With Gulf States Lauded

NC2211173388 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Text] KEYHAN has reported that Iranian and Gulf Air representatives have reached agreement on setting up

branches of that Arab air company in Tehran, Shiraz and Bandar-e 'Abbas. Our commentator, Igor Sheftunov, comments:

Thus, Gulf Air, which flys the Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, and UAE routes, will be able to have regular flights between these Persian Gulf countries and Iran's largest cities. This, undoubtedly, will help toward facilitating the expansion of Iran's contacts with regional countries.

Following the onset of the Iran-Iraq war, Iran's relations with many of these countries were severed. However, these relations are now being reestablished gradually. Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Besharati's visit to Kuwait last month led to the normalization of the two countries' relations. During his stay in Kuwait, Besharati declared that Iran also is ready to normalize its relations with Saudi Arabia because that country's mass media has stopped its anti-Iranian propaganda on the orders of King Fahd. Pointing to Iran's role as one of the largest Persian Gulf countries, Fahd had expressed the hope that the region's countries would eliminate their differences in the near future and cooperate toward a joint solution to existing problems.

As we know, the 8-year Iran-Iraq war has inflicted damage on all of the Persian Gulf countries. Thus, these countries are interested in mitigating, the consequences of the war as quickly as possible. iran's agreement to cooperate with its neighbors to clean the Persian gulf waters of mines and of wrecked ships was warmly welcomed by all the regional countries.

In my opinion, it is very important for Iran and Iraq, together with Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain, to become members of the special committee that has been formed for the preservation of the environment of the Persian Gulf. The membership of Iran and Iraq is very important because practical cooperation between these two countries within this committee will help toward the solution of their conflicts through political means, despite the fact that differences of opinion exist between them.

Thus, the necessary grounds for organizing cooperation among Persian Gulf countries and for removing the military presence of the United States, which continues to keep more than 20 warships in this region, will be paved.

Iran's foreign minister, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, has correctly pointed out that, currently, developments are moving in such a way that the continued presence of the U.S. navy in the Persian Gulf is not justifiable in any way. Iran's foreign minister said: These forces should leave this area as soon as possible so that an atmosphere of peace and calm will once again be established among the Persian Gulf states without foreign intervention.

Kornilov on Pakistani 'Whitewash' of Violations

LD2311173288 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

It has now become almost a rule that the more frankly and brazenly some circles in Pakistan and those supporting it violate the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the more active and sophisticated they get in their desire to whitewash themselves. Fresh evidence of this is a letter which the Pakistani foreign minister sent to the United Nations Security Council. The letter asserts that the Pakistani Government observes both the letter and the spirit of the "Geneva package" provisions while charges of violations of these commitments levelled at Islamabad are "completely without foundation."

Reading this missive, you begin to wonder whether its author really thinks that the representatives of different countries at the United Nations are utterly ignorant of the contents of the Geneva Accords. For you take just one look at those documents, and Islamabad's protestations of "compliance" with its commitments under the accords crumble like a house of cards.

And in fact, one key provision of the "Geneva package" says that the sides undertake to respect the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of one another. But can one be serious, talking about Islamabad's respect for the sovereignty of Afghanistan, when in Pakistani territory, in the city of Peshawar, under the patronage of Pakistani authorities, a so-called "transitional" government has been knocked together with the sole aim of undermining the sovereignty of the Republic of Afghanistan? The accords obligate the parties to abstain from any action or attempt to undermine the stability of the other side. But is not the fact that the Pakistani-Afghan border is crossed every month by scores of "caravans of terror" and vehicles loaded with arms, a direct attempt to destabilise the situation in Afghanistan and prevent the termination of the bloodshed? The accords further say that the sides are dutybound to prevent training, equipping, financing and hiring of mercenaries in their territory. And this commitment is also to Islamabad an empty promise: According to the Indian CNS news agency, for instance, even today in Pakistani territory there are over 130 centres and bases training militants from the Afghan opposition.

The "Geneva package", as is known, also includes a "declaration on international guarantees" which stresses that the governments of the USSR and the USA undertake to strictly abstain from interference and intervention in any form in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The Soviet Union faithfully abides by the commitments it has undertaken. And what about the United States? Washington has already spent over two billion dollars on

the "undeclared war" being waged against Afghanistan—and today, judging by news reports, these expenditures are growing rather than declining.

Recently I had a chance to discuss the "Afghan problem" with Ts. Gombsuren, the foreign minister of Mongolia. "Washington and Islamabad, blatantly flouting the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, are stepping up massive arms shipments to the Afghan armed opposition which makes no secret of its plans to usurp by force the power in a sovereign country, he said. But when the Soviet Union, responding to these essentially aggressive actions, helps Afghanistan to strengthen its defences, Washington raises a hullabaloo, whose purpose it is to convince the gullible that it is not Pakistan and the United States, but rather the Soviet Union that is undermining the Geneva Accords. This 'double standard' approach to the Afghan problem, which is an important and acute one, is far from fostering in this country and elsewhere a confidence in the actions of those U.S. circles which determine the "Afghan" or, to be more precise,—the anti-Afghan course." It is an apt and well-grounded statement. And the unseemly attempts to use the United Nations rostrum to pass off black for white do not enhance the credibility of the actions of Islamabad and its Washington patrons....

Renewing Ties With Israel 'Very Real Issue'

TA0811085388 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1730 GMT 7 Nov 88

[Commentary by political commentator Vyacheslav Katanidze]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] First and foremost, I think one of the central issues today is the renewal of diplomatic relations between Israel and the USSR. I believe that the lack of a wide-ranging dialogue between the various social strata in Israel and our country and, to a certain extent, also the lack of contact with the political level in Israel, harm the development of new political thought in Israel, while at the same time objectively encourage the development of the opposite trend, Vyacheslav Katanidze says.

The Israeli rightwing claims that the absence of relations with the USSR shows that our policy is anti-Israeli and that we in fact support anti-Semitism and the Arab extremists. On the other hand, the Arab extremists claim that our country supports their policy de facto by not renewing diplomatic relations with Israel. I will tell you quite candidly: Both extremist camps make such claims. This is a challenge we must meet. Diplomatic relations are formed so that each side can influence the other. The impression that we are limiting our freedom of action therefore upsets the process of understanding each other's positions, without which there is no new thought. Now is the time to ask another question: Can relations be resumed in the near future?

If the next government in Israel is an extreme right-wing government that plans transfers and wants to drown the Palestinian uprising in a sea of blood, a government that gambles on a policy of force and chauvinism, then it cannot conduct a dialogue with us. What sort of dialogue can there be with those who respond negatively to any proposal aimed at advancing the peace process? Furthermore, under such circumstances it would be impossible to explain the resumption of ties to the Arabs, to the international community, and to the Soviet public. It would be seen as encouraging an aggressive and annexationist policy in the Middle East. The conclusion, therefore, is that the results of the Israeli elections are also important for the development of relations between our two countries and for the chances of developing thought and a new political reality. This is a very real issue at this time, especially in an era when the USSR is also developing close economic and commercial ties with the West.

I believe that the resumption of ties between the USSR and Israel will benefit both countries, Vyacheslav Katanidze says, but adds that the main obstacle apparently lies in the bankrupt policy of force which the Israeli leadership is not prepared to abandon. We believe that if a government is set up in Israel that will implement a more balanced, realistic, and rational policy on the basis of the new thought, its first moves will be to remove the existing obstacles. I believe that this will be the case. If it does not happen tomorrow, then it will happen the day after.

Israeli Nuclear Weapon Program Viewed

PM1811112388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Second article in series by Major General (Reserve) F. Gontar: "Positions and Ambitions. Will It Be Possible To Prevent the Spread of Nuclear Weapons?"; the first article in the series, under the title "Pakistani Nuclear Program Assessed," appeared in the 23 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 24]

[Text]

II. Israel: Secrets of the Negev Desert

Two Israeli specialists who secretly found out the password of a computer at the Los Alamos nuclear laboratory gained access to information relating to U.S. work on the design of a trigger for nuclear munitions. This fact recently reported by U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, citing a report by U.S. Congress staffers, is one of many cases where the Israelis have obtained materials, equipment, and technological documentation needed to create a nuclear potential from Western countries through secret operations and deals. Thus, in 1957 342 kg of enriched "weapons-grade" uranium "disappeared" from the U.S. NUMEC enterprise and later turned up in Israel. In 1968 the "Shyeyesberg" [name as transliterated] "disappeared" in the Mediterranean with 200

tonnes of uranium oxide on board. Later it emerged that this consignment was also delivered to Tel Aviv. Other similar examples can also be cited.

Israel's nuclear preparations were revealed most fully by the "Insight" group set up in 1986 on the initiative of London's SUNDAY TIMES. It includes, in particular, such well-known nuclear physicists as the American T. Taylor and Britain's F. Barbary. Using materials and photographs obtained from Israeli physicist M. Vanunu (for which he was imprisoned in an Israeli jail) and also other information previously published in the Western press, this group drew the conclusion that Israel has been developing and producing nuclear weapons for a long time.

Israel's creation of a scientific and technical and production base for the nuclear industry began in the late fifties and early sixties. Far-reaching militarist ambitions were already ripening then. An admission by Israel's former Prime Minister D. Ben-Gurion is indicative. "Our task is to create as soon as possible weapons that will leave no one in the slightest doubt that we can wage a destructive preventive war."

"Insight" figures that the main operations to produce Israeli nuclear weapons are concentrated at the Dimona nuclear science-and-production center in the Negev desert (120 km southeast of Tel Aviv). A technologically closed production complex making it possible to obtain nuclear explosives on an industrial scale and to manufacture nuclear and thermonuclear charges from them was set up here under the strictest secrecy and has functioned for more than 20 years.

A nuclear reactor constructed by French specialists has operated at the Dimona nuclear center since 1964. It operates on natural uranium (containing 0.7 percent of the uranium-235 isotope). The reactor's original capacity was 26,000 kilowatts, which made it possible to accumulate up to 10 kg of "weapons-grade" plutonium per year. During the seventies the reactor was modernized and its capacity was increased to 150,000 kilowatts, which made it possible to obtain approximately 40 kg of "weapons-grade" plutonium per year. Israel obtains the natural uranium used as fuel to load the nuclear reactor through secret deals with foreign firms (mainly South African firms) and partially from its own production.

The "Mahon-2" radiochemical complex has been constructed at the Dimona center to recover plutonium from uranium rods irradiated within the nuclear reactor. It makes it possible to separate out up to 40 kg per year of "weapons-grade" plutonium in the form of metal ingots weighing 130 grams each. An installation to separate out tritium, which is obtained at the nuclear reactor by irradiating lithium-6, and also one producing lithium deuteride have been in operation at the Dimona center since the early 1980's. These nuclear materials together with "weapons-grade" plutonium and uranium are used to manufacture thermonuclear charges.

In the opinion of "Insight," Israel at present has the capability to manufacture no less than 10 nuclear munitions per year, and these are considerably smaller in size and weight and more sophisticated in design than the first atomic bombs developed in the United States. According to the conservative estimate of this group, Israel could have manufactured a minimum of 100 and possibly up to 200 nuclear weapons of various destructive force. This spread in the estimate of the quantity of nuclear charges is explained by the fact that in the first case "Insight" specialists assumed that 4 kg of plutonium were used per charge, and in the second case 2 kg.

These estimate do not diverge from the statement made in 1982 by Perlmutter, an Israeli scientist who moved to the United States after 4 years of working in Dimona. According to his data, Israel has 200 nuclear weapons and is carrying out work to create neutron munitions.

Israeli possession of nuclear weapons has long been no secret to Washington. According to press reports, in 1968 R. Helms, then director of the CIA, informed President L. Johnson of the fact that Israel had an atomic bomb. However, the president ordered the intelligence chief to hold his tongue.

The Israeli-designed "Kfir" fighter-bombers and also the F-16 aircraft supplied by the United States can be used as delivery vehicles for the nuclear bombs created in Israel. As for nuclear warheads, they can be used on Israeli "Jericho-1" (range up to 500 km) and "Jericho-2" (range up to 1,500 km) ballistic missiles and also "Lance" tactical missiles from the United States. Western press reports have appeared to the effect that Israel has developed "Heracles-2" missiles designed to use nuclear warheads.

The aforementioned U.S. nuclear weapons specialist T. Taylor stated: "There should now be no doubt that Israel has been a true nuclear power for a minimum of 10 years. The Israeli nuclear weapons production program is considerably more extensive than was supposed on the basis of the previous reports and forecasts of which I am aware." Tel Aviv's rulers have refused to comment on this statement, guided by the so-called concept of "deliberate ambiguity." The essence of this concept is that, while not confirming that they possess nuclear weapons, Israel's rulers at the same time intimate that they can deploy them within a short period. People there believe that by acting in this way they can retain a nuclear monopoly in the Near East and at the same time prevent the Arab countries from organizing any nuclear research for peaceful purposes. Israeli aircraft's criminal bombing in June 1981 of the Iraqi nuclear research center near Baghdad, which caused the destruction of the "Uziraq" nuclear reactor constructed there with the aid of French specialists was confirmation of this policy. The world public's resolute condemnation of this act of state terrorism did not dampen the ardor of the Israeli "superhawks." "We are prepared to strike against any nuclear reactor that Iraq constructs in the future," a member of the Israeli Government stated threateningly in 1985.

The following report from U.S. TIME magazine illustrates the Tel Aviv aggressors' adventurism and foolhardy readiness to use nuclear weapons: During the exacerbation of the Near East crisis in 1973, Golda Me'ir, prime minister at the time, seriously considered the question of using these weapons against Arab countries.

Foreign specialists point out that if Israel had not received support from outside, it would hardly have been able to have advanced so far along the path of developing and creating its own nuclear weapons. This support, which encourages the Tel Aviv militarists' nuclear ambitions, is above all represented by the tremendous military and economic aid that Washington gives its strategic ally in the Near East.

World public concern at the creation of Israel's military nuclear potential is intensifying. In light of this, the 32d session of the IAEA General Conference, held in September, resolutely condemned the unwillingness on the part of the country's ruling circles to renounce the possession of nuclear weapons and to allow the agency to monitor all their nuclear installations. A decision was adopted on examining the question of the nuclear threat and Israel's nuclear potential at the next, 33d IAEA session.

USSR Declares Support for PLO's 'Arafat

LD2811164788 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—"The Soviet Union declares its solidarity with the friendly Palestinian people and will continue to facilitate in all ways the attainment of a comprehensive and fair settlement in the Middle East," says the Soviet government's message to yassir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation executive Committee.

The Soviet government extended sincere congratulations and good wishes to the PLO and the entire Palestinian people on the occasion of International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The day is marked by the international community on November 29.

The Soviet government expressed its profound satisfaction with the "important step towards securing more favourable conditions for practical change in the process of unblocking the Arab-Israeli conflict and resolving its key—Palestinian—problem" made at an extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council.

The Soviet Union, the message said, backed the council's decision to set up an independent Palestinian state.

"The political declaration of the Palestine National Council opens up new opportunities for the exercise by the Palestinian people of their right to self-determination, for the endeavour to achieve a lasting and fair peace in the region, and paves the way for convening an international conference on the Middle East."

'Arafat Praises Soviet Stand on Palestine Issue

LD2611233888 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, recently gave an interview during his visit to Aden to Aleksandr Morashkin, our correspondent in Democratic Yemen. You will now hear a recording of that interview.

Our correspondent requested the Palestinian leader to express his opinion about the 19th session of the Palestine National Council [PNC]. He said:

[Begin 'Arafat recording] In fact we consider it an historic and decisive session as far as the Palestinian cause, the Palestinian struggle, and the uprising of our people inside the occupied territory are concerned. This session took place in support of the uprising by our people inside our occupied territory. It took place after some 11 months of uprising against Israeli occupation under important international circumstances. Foremost in these circumstances are the new openness and detente in international relations, especially after the meetings between comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan. A priority during those meetings was the resolution of regional hotbeds, in particular the Middle East issue and its core—the Palestinian issue.

Our session came in the shadow of a series of Arab events, including the cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq, and other important issues. Thus, we can say that this session was an important one, especially the resolutions that were issued. They are constructive and positive resolutions that are consistent with Palestinian and international activities aimed at arriving at a just and permanent solution to the problem of the Middle East, especially the Palestinian problem, through an effective international conference, as pointed out by the PNC, under UN auspices and with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all sides to the conflict in the region, including the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We take into consideration that the international conference will be held on the basis of the two Security Council resolutions—242 and 338—with a guarantee of the Palestinian Peoples' national political rights, in particular its right to self-determination.

Then came this important proclamation by the PNC, a proclamation that is historical not only for the Palestinian people but also for the region, the Middle East region as a whole. This is the proclamation of the birth of the Palestinian state which is provided for in international

resolutions and international legitimacy. This is a natural right of the Palestinian people which stems from these [word indistinct] which for so long the Soviet friends stood alongside the Palestinian people in order to accomplish it, that is, to accomplish this international legitimacy through the achievement of our inalienable national rights, including our right to return and to set up our independent state. [end recording]

[Announcer] Yasir 'Arafat then addressed the implications of proclaiming an independent Palestinian state for the course of the uprising. He said:

[Begin 'Arafat recording] Undoubtedly, it gave a new thrust and a great impetus to the uprising. It is no coincidence that, during the 6-7 days since the announcement of the independence document, 58 states have recognised this state, including our great friend, the Soviet Union, and important friends like India and China, as well as a great number of Asian, African, and other friendly states within the Nonaligned Movement. This momentum on the part of our friends in the world is still continuing with recognitions of this Palestinian state.

I also want to point out, with pride, to the significance of this international activity. It means that there is a broad international front which is standing alongside the Palestinian people and our just cause. In this respect, I should like to point out, with endearment, to this friendly Soviet position which continues to support the struggle of our people and our cause, especially the position of comrade Gorbachev which he stressed more than once, including during the talks between himself and President Reagan, between Soviet and U.S. officials, and at the United Nations and other international forums. [end recording]

Palestinian Parliament Session Assessed

PM2111160188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Morning Edition pp 4, 5

[Konstantin Geyvandov "Political Observer's Opinion": "Positive Developments"]

[Text] **An extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council [PNC] was held in a suburb of the Algerian capital. Arabs describe it as historic, and people everywhere are now keenly discussing the results of this forum's work.**

I will turn to the decisions made in Algiers a little later, but first let me mention a commentary on the same topic: "PLO Executive Committee Chairman 'Arafat issued the usual bellicose calls in his speech at the opening session of the Palestinian parliament in exile. He declared that 'the revolution will continue until victory, until such time as the Palestinian flag flies above Jerusalem.' Outside the session hall, however, different words were heard in interviews with PLO leaders, words which the world public wants to hear—words about peace. The session is due to adopt a declaration of independence and a political statement. Everyone wants to know how far the Palestinians will go in this statement on the question of recognition for Israel." This was how the U.S. CBS-TV correspondent commented on the start of the session's work.

It is hard to say what predominates in this type of statement—arrogance, deception, or downright shallowness. It is, of course, awkward to say such uncomplimentary things about the "labor" by one's colleague, even though he might be from the camp of our adversaries. It does seem to me, however, that he is rendering a disservice to his audience with such commentaries. But let us try to examine things in their proper order. Let us begin with these "usual bellicose calls." It is well known that the ultimate goal of any revolution is to successfully accomplish its set tasks. So why, one would ask, should a simple statement of this fact by the PLO leader turn into "usual bellicose calls." I am convinced that the CBS-TV correspondent would feel very insulted and embittered if anyone were to describe in the same fashion the statements by the leaders of the American revolution.

To continue. Why, one would also ask, present all this as contradicting the other PLO leaders' statements about peace, and then go on to call on the world public as a witness. The world public has for a long time been familiar with the stance of the PLO, which invariably expresses readiness to seek a political and all-embracing Near East settlement whose core is the Palestinian problem. While the extraordinary session was sitting in Algiers, PLO Executive Committee Chairman 'Arafat declared in an interview with the U.S. ABC-TV: "I am prepared to sit with the Israelis around the negotiating table within the framework of an international conference. I am prepared to do business with my enemies." I was also told this by Y. 'Arafat and other Palestinian leaders in the course of meetings and conversations.

And finally, the statement that "everyone wants to know how far the Palestinians will go on the question of recognition for Israel." First, everyone is primarily interested in the future of the Palestinian people, who are to this day denied their legitimate national rights and, first and foremost, their right to self-determination. Therefore, it seems to me extremely irresponsible to always reduce the entire problem to nothing more than...recognition of a state formation which has been in existence for decades by these exiled people. Second, this is by no means a matter of "how far the Palestinians will go or won't go" on this question, it is simply a matter of recognition. And it is here, in my view, that the resolution of the PNC session which has just ended must be perceived as a positive development. Against this background, hardly anyone would describe as constructive the response by Ben Agaron, director-general of the Israeli Prime Minister's Office, who declared even before the Algiers meeting: "We will chuck these resolutions in the same waste basket with the 1964 Palestine Charter and 'Arafat's 1974 UN speech."

Unlike the aforementioned CBS-TV correspondent, other U.S. mass media and the press, radio, and television in the world as a whole treated the Palestinian parliament's session more seriously, striving to offer objective and considered assessments. This, in my view, is exactly what is needed at this crucial and responsible time in the development of the process of settling the Near East conflict. For example, the anchorman of the ABC-TV evening news program described the results of the Palestinian representatives' work in Algiers as "a historic solution to the question of the Near East's future." Noting that "a persistent call for peace was heard from Algiers" and that "one of the most important steps along the path to peaceful settlement has been taken," the press in a number of other West European countries emphasizes that the international public must now take on the responsibility for implementing the necessary measures for the purpose of establishing lasting peace in the Near East.

It seems that the Palestinians have covered their part of the way to this goal, which is yearned for by the peoples in the region. First and foremost, the PNC extraordinary session's work ended with the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state. This, after almost 41 years and even though largely symbolic, is the fulfillment of the UN General Assembly's first resolution, No. 181, to define Palestine's future in the second half of our century. The Palestinian state will adhere to the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations with neighboring countries.

The Algiers session adopted the PLO's program document, its political statement. What is the first thing that attracts attention in it? Obviously, the Palestinians' recognition of UN Security Council Resolution No. 242, adopted in 1967, for the purpose of eliminating the consequences of the Arab-Israeli 6-Day War and settling the Near East crisis. It envisages withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war, as well as termination of all claims or states of war and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the Near East and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized borders without being subjected to the threat of force or the use of force.

There is no doubt that, coupled with the need to guarantee the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, including their right to self-determination, the universal recognition of Resolution 242 offers a firm basis for a general Near East settlement. It is necessary to welcome the need, reaffirmed in the Algiers statement, to convene for this purpose an effective international conference under UN auspices, as well as the PLO's readiness to take part in it on an equal basis. Special emphasis must be placed on the resolute condemnation, contained in the political program adopted by the PNC, of all forms of terrorism including state terrorism which is so widespread in the conditions of the Near East conflict. By way of specific steps aimed at settling the Arab-Israeli crisis, the statement contains a call to Israel to withdraw to the 1967 borders and to liberate the Arab lands captured by force, including East (Arab) Jerusalem.

Summing up my impressions from the work of this PNC session, I must say that it took a number of constructive steps and elaborated some considered and realistic decisions that will create favorable conditions for the achievement of an all-embracing Near East settlement on the basis of observing all sides' balance of interests. Far from claiming sole rights to this conclusion, I am gratified to note its universality in fact, which is confirmed by the incessant flow of statements containing recognition of the independent Palestinian state and welcoming the decisions of the PNC Algiers session, including statements from West European countries.

The Soviet Union also welcomed the package of decisions adopted by the PNC and recognized the proclamation of the Palestinian state. The Palestinian people's supreme political forum took an important step in the direction of ensuring more favorable conditions for a Near East settlement. The Palestinian leadership, the Soviet Union believes, has shown a high level of realism and fresh approaches toward the most substantial aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

But what about the United States and Israel? After all, their absolute condition for the PLO's involvement in the process of a general Near East settlement was the Palestinian's recognition of Security Council Resolution No. 242 which is seen as recognition of Israel, and a condemnation of terrorism. Forced to agree that the Algiers sitting of the Palestinian parliament "did have positive moments, primarily the results of the vote on Resolution No. 242," the White House spokesman adopted a negative stance. Bearing in mind that power in Washington is shortly to be transferred to a new administration, no more than this could have been expected from the present one.

As for Israel, judging by everything, people there have decided to act exactly as the aforementioned Ben Agaron hinted. Well aware that it can no longer act with the same impunity as in the past in the face of the uprising of Palestinians in the occupied territories which is continuing and is gathering pace, Tel Aviv resumed with renewed energy its attempts to put it down in the most merciless fashion. Actually, another action is being embarked upon on the diplomatic front. It was reported that in the last few days the Israeli leadership mobilized all possible forces to persuade the U.S. Administration to refuse an entry visa for a visit to New York by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat who intends to address the current UN General Assembly session. Thus, it is claimed, Israeli diplomacy wants to prevent the Palestinian leader reporting to the world community of nations the important decisions made by the Palestinian people's representatives.

Of course, Tel Aviv does have its levers to exert pressure on Washington. This is an open secret, and it cannot be ruled out that the U.S. Administration will once again give in to it despite the norms of international law. First, however, this will not prevent the truth from being widely publicized. And second, what about the following conclusion drawn by Jerusalem's famous Professor Ya. Rabkin [name as transliterated] who, summing up the results of the "achievements" by Israel's leaders since the day of its emergence, concludes: "A garrison state inhabited by ever decreasing numbers of desperate Jewish volunteers, even though it might have nuclear weapons, can lead only to collective suicide." I think that this opinion ought to be heeded by everyone who claims the role of Israel's leader, regardless of party loyalties.

And if someone feels that this scientist's idea is not convincing enough, let me quote a statement by a figure who is most respected in Israel—U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz—and adheres to the opinion that military force cannot ensure Israel's security and that peace is needed to ensure it. Finally, I will take the liberty of quoting Egypt's President H. Mubarak, leader of the only Arab country to have concluded a peace treaty with Israel, who said a few days ago when addressing the Israeli leaders: "The time has come for Israel to display responsibility and respond to the Arabs' genuine desire for peace. History teaches us that peace cannot be based on the trampling of other people's rights and on occupation. In the same way, security cannot be ensured by territorial expansion, an arms buildup, and terror against other peoples. The only way to achieve peace is to implement conditions that are objectively acceptable to all and to ensure coexistence based on freedom of choice."

I readily share this opinion!

PRAVDA Interviews PLO's Mahmud 'Abbas

PM2411132188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA correspondent S. Filatov interview with Mahmud 'Abbas, member of the PLO Executive Committee, under the rubric "Our Interviews": "Peaceful Challenge"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] After the extraordinary Palestine National Council [PNC] session that adopted the decision of historic importance for the Palestinian people had ended, PRAVDA correspondent S. Filatov asked Mahmud 'Abbas, a prominent Palestinian and member of the PLO Executive Committee, a number of questions.

[Filatov] How does the Palestinian political leadership assess the results and significance of the extraordinary PNC session?

['Abbas] We think that it is the most important session in the life of the Palestinian people. First, a document on independence and, second, a political declaration of practical significance have been adopted. The Palestinian leadership has put forward a very clear and constructive political program for the first time. The world's distorted idea of Palestinians is being eliminated. Especially in the West. The declaration constitutes a peaceful challenge to the policy of the Israeli Government. Yet it is acceptable to most Israeli citizens because even those who vote for "Likud" in elections or for religious parties want peace. We have opened the doors to a peaceful solution. They must now respond to our constructive initiatives.

[Filatov] What is your opinion of the first reaction from the world community to the act of proclaiming an independent Palestinian state?

['Abbas] We did not expect such a wave of approval from the world. We did not exclude the possibility that some countries, including Arab countries, would hesitate after the proclamation of independence before announcing their recognition of our state. But in the first 24 hours almost 15 countries recognized the Palestinian state.

[Filatov] In your opinion, what are the prospects for convening an international peace conference at the new phase?

['Abbas] You only have to look at the political declaration to see that it determines all the conditions for promoting the convocation of an international conference. We have expressed our views clearly on UN Security Council Resolution 242 and we acknowledge international legality. That is, all conditions leading to a conference are acceptable to us.

[Filatov] Are you planning to form a Palestinian Government? When will this take place?

['Abbas] We adopted a political decision at the PNC on creating a government but we have postponed its formation. The declaration on its creation will be made on the eve of the convocation of an international conference. This government will represent the entire people, all Palestinians wherever they live

TASS Interviews PFLP's George Habash

LD2811130688 Moscow TASS in English 1232 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Damascus November 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vadim Shchennikov:

All progressive mankind will observe the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people this year in conditions when a popular uprising is mounting against the aggressors in the occupied Arab lands, this correspondent was told by George Habash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. This

uprising, he continued, has rallied together the ranks of the Palestinian revolution. It has also contributed to the success of the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council.

Noting the great importance of international solidarity with with the just struggle of the Palestinian people, the Popular Front secretary general expressed the hope that November 29 would be marked by precisely such solidarity. Our friends' moral and material support to the Palestinian uprising is extremely necessary to us. It is most necessary for the Palestinians in occupied territories to know that their just cause is backed by all the forces of peace and progress on our planet.

Habash urged all the friends of the Palestinian people to recognize the independent Palestinian state, declared at the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council. He expressed in this connection profound gratitude to the Soviet Union, which has recognized the state's proclamation de facto.

Government Greetings Exchanged With Jordan
PM2811112588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent King Husayn ibn Talal of Jordan a telegram conveying congratulations and wishes for well-being and prosperity to him and to the friendly Jordanian people on the country's national holiday. The hope was expressed that Soviet-Jordanian relations will continue to develop on an ascending line for the good of both countries and promote the strengthening of interstate cooperation for the sake of resolving common human tasks, settling regional conflicts, and establishing a just and lasting peace in the Near East.

In his reply telegram the king expressed on behalf of the Jordanian people and on his own behalf sincere gratitude for the warm congratulations and wished the friendly Soviet people further progress and prosperity. The Jordanian side, the telegram stresses, persistently strives to develop bilateral cooperation, not least in settling regional conflicts, particularly in establishing a just and lasting peace in the Near East based on the principles of international law.

Special Program Views Gorbachev Visit to India
LD2511105488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Special program entitled: "For the Good of the Peoples of the USSR and India, for the Benefit of the Entire World Community: On the Results of the Visit to India by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium" with Academician Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economic and International Relations; Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, senior CPSU Central Committee official; and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, all-union radio commentator]

[Excerpts] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades: Our program today deals with the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to India. For the most part, you are already aware of the results of the summit-level meetings that took place in Delhi; and you are obviously also already aware of the content of the Soviet-Indian summit-level statement that addresses the circle of issues discussed during the conversations between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and both Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister of India, and President Venkataraman of India. You also know about the decisions made there.

Taking part in our program today, as you heard in the introduction, are Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov and Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, who were in Delhi during that visit and worked as members of our broad delegation there. The first question I would like to put to them, of course, is what your particular personal impressions are, bearing in mind that you were also in Delhi 2 years ago. Now you have something to compare it with. And I would like you also to give a concise description of the dynamics of the development of Soviet-Indian relations.

[Shishlin] This is I think, quite a proper question to ask, Viktor Nikolayevich, but in actual fact it has already been asked, that is, our journalists asked this of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. They did indeed answer this question about their impressions of the visit, and, I think, a well-weighed and accurate evaluation was given. This visit might have seemed, on the basis of the very harmonious relations, to harbor no possibility of an abrupt advance. Yet it turned out otherwise: In fact, on the basis of the Delhi Declaration, on the basis of the visit that took place 2 years ago, the new summit meeting betwen the Indian and Soviet leaders yielded extremely fruitful results. I would nevertheless single out, however, the political side of affairs, first and foremost, the political side. To put it briefly, this meeting, a review of everything that has taken place in Soviet-Indian relations and in international relations as such, shows that the Delhi Declaration is working: The Delhi Declaration is enriching both Soviet-Indian relations and international relations. That is probably the most essential thing.

[Primakov] I agree. You know, over the 2 years separating these visits a very large number of events have taken place. [passage omitted] Stabilization has not yet encompassed such an important element as the elimination of many conflict situations. Not everything is going smoothly in Afghanistan and around it: It is crystal clear that we would like to withdraw our troops punctually within all the set schedules; we are strivintg toward this and will do all this, to judge by all events. But we are being hampered, hampered by the opposing side, hampered by those who do not want to keep to the agremeent signed in Geneva, that is, the United States and Pakistan.

In other conflicts trends for the better have also been registered, but they are still far from resolution. And it seems to me that in these circumstances Soviet-Indian

relations are of particular significance. Take the following fact, for instance: India is the ony major, really major country outside the socialist bloc that recognizes the Cambodian Government, and plays a very positive role in resolving the Cambodian conflict. India has close relations with the Najibullah government and is trying to do everything possible to put its great weight on the scales of resolving in this issue. Pakistan pays heed to India in many matters. [passage omitted]

I think, however, that the main thing about this visit, of course—and I think Nikolay Vladimirovich will agree with me on this—is the tete-a-tete talks.

[Shishlin] Indeed, without doubt. There were three meetings of very intensive and in-depth talks on an entire package of problems, which, furthermore—Yevgeniy Maksimovich enumerated a series of very serious issues—which are continuing to burden the international situation even today. The visit, however, was addressed to the future, and here, alongside the problems already mentioned, one cannot but mentioned the concern felt by both Delhi and Moscow over the situation in general in the Asia-Pacific region. Some good progress is emerging and coming to light there, but this progress could be reinforced first and foremost, of course, by the enhancement of Soviet-Indian relations, which has indeed come about. [passage omitted]

In effect, all the vital and major issues of world politics were within the purview of the leaders of the two countries, and to some degree this visit may be regarded as the prologue to Mikhail Sergeyevich's forthcoming trip to the United States. [passage omitted]

[Primakov] I would divide everything into two parts: One part is the joint communique, where a common position is registered on a whole series of major international problems. Here a weighty position is declared, backed by two countries like the Soviet Union and India. The second part is the closed tete-a-tete negotiations, in the course of which the two leaders were able to exchange opinions on a whole series of issues, on questions of tactics and so forth, on how all these aims can be reached. This is very important.

However, I would like to draw your attention to the following problems: The first is that before the visit, of course, there was a great deal of talk alleging that the Soviet interest in India was mere expediency, that it was concentrated upon the Soviet Delhi Declaration [as heard] which, it was said, emerged and is working; and so the Soviet Union is today allegedly directing its foreign policy priorities to other countries and only to a lesser degree to India. The visit put such allegations unequivocally to the test.

Then the second aspect is that yes, the Soviet Union is indeed bringing about a normalization of relations with China, and is working toward this. Relations are not bad. As our radio listeners are aware, in December we are expecting a visit to Moscow from the PRC foreign minister. This is the first visit for very many years. And after this, evidently, practical preparations will start for a summit meeting, which, as Mikhail Sergeyevich has stated, is not far off. Soviet-Indian relations are part of these processes, a very organic part of these processes, and this was confirmed afresh by the visit and by the succes of the visit.

The Soviet Union, after all—I remember, and you, Nikolay Vladimirovich, will probably remember, too, the last news conference 2 years ago that Mikhail Sergeyevich gave in New Delhi...

[Shishlin, interrupting] Yes, jointly with Rajiv Gandhi...

[Primakov, interrupting] He was asked a lot of questions there. How is it then: Will not Soviet-Indian relations work to the detriment of relations with third countries, or conversely, will not the Soviet aspiration to develop relations with the PRC be to the detriment of relations with India? Mikhail Sergeyevich replied very precisely to that question, leaving absolutely no shadow of doubt that we are developing our relations with individual countries without detriment to third countries; that we are proceeding along a broad front; that we want to create a foreign policy situation which is the most favorable possible, on the one hand to strengthen peace, and on the other so that our domestic problems, which are very complex and numerous, may be resolved.

Now this has once again demonstrated in a fully substantiated way, that yes, we want relations with China, and we are proceeding toward normalization. Yes, we single out the United States, because our two countries have between 93 and 97 percent of nuclear missile means at their disposal, and we have to proceed toward normalization, otherwise we will achieve nothing at all on a global level. Yes, we want relations with India, because India is our stable partner, our firm friend, which is going along with us a considerable part of the way toward stabilization of international relations, and will go even further, and so on. We are moving in all directions. It is very important to stress this.

[Shishlin] Yes, and quite simply in itself, the success of the policy founded upon the new political thinking is unthinkable without cooperation with India. And India itself, by its own position, makes a very substantial contribution to improving international relations, although India itself, without doubt, has many problems, just as we, properly speaking, have many problems. And it is precisely Soviet-Indian cooperation that may turn out to be very fruitful and beneficial as we resolve the tasks we are posing in the process of restructuring, the process of revolutionary renewal of society. India is currently developing quite rapidly. [passage omitted]

[Primakov] Yes, you are right. There are certain enclaves where India has attained a great deal of success: in the technological and technical sphere, in the scientific and

technical sphere, and so on. And cooperation and cooperative production with India is of colossal importance here. India, for instance, is currently manufacturing a very large number of personal computers. Some representatives of Indian business circles have raised the question, as yet unofficially, of the Soviet Union buying a large consignment of computers and thereby leaping several stages, and starting in conjuction with them, to develop computers of the next generation and putting them into production. Furthermore, these need not be obligatorily purchased on the basis of large foreign currency payments, but on a barter basis, on the basis of supplies of our goods. Thus we have colossal opportunities, but we are as yet making poor use of them, as Mikhail Sergeyevich said. [passage omitted]

[Levin] Both economics and culture in general create a good basis, a good foundation for the further development of our political relations. [passage omitted] I said this because I would like to return once again to the political problems, and it seems to me that the appraisal that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made of the negotiations held in Delhi—namely that they correspond to the interests of both our peoples and benefit the whole international community—can be backed up by specific facts. You, Yevgeniy Maksimovich, mentioned the events surrounding Afghanistan and, probably, in this connection, the idea expressed in the Soviet-Indian summit communique that the convening of an international conference with UN assistance might be necessary to secure a settlement of the Afghan problem and could turn out to be very fruitful. What do you think?

[Primakov] Well, of course, the process of national reconciliation is now being artificially slowed down in Afghanistan—the internal process which is intended to lead to the formation of a coalition government. You cannot form a coalition government from outside, after all, that is perfectly clear. Furthermore, here Najibullah is playing a very honest game, so to speak, if one can put it like that. He said that he has opened the doors to a coalition government for the Peshawar Seven, too; for all. And indeed he has done so.

[Shishlin] Yes.

[Primakov] I have been reading various things today and discovered something: a false idea is being sneaked into the Western mass media, clearly concocted there, to the effect that the Soviet Union is allegedly losing interest in President Najibullah and losing interest in the present government in Kabul, and so on and so forth. This is a very wicked game that is being played here, whereas the Soviet Union wholly and unambiguously supports the policy of national reconciliation and those bold and genuinely constructive steps being taken by Kabul to bring about a reign of peace in that land. We speak of, and sometimes use, the expression the situation surrounding Afghanistan; but not only around Afghanistan, but within Afghanistan itself the struggle is continuing as before, peaceful life is being destroyed in that country. And of course, the political means being used by the Soviet Union and the Afghan Government to make this regional conflict a thing of the past, and which receive India's support, these political means are in essence the only sensible alternative for this whole Afghan situation.

I may be wrong, but it seems to me that now, after a completely new political picture has been created in Pakistan, after the defeat of the ruling party and after Bhutto's party has become the strongest in parliament, a new picture is being created and new conditions, which could be used to bring about a settlement—it seems to me that now all the anti-Afghan forces, all those who oppose stabilization, will step up their pressure, right now. And perhaps in this regard, the joint position of the Soviet Union and India will also play a very big role.

[Shishlin] Yes, all the more so in that India's relations with Pakistan have, in general, long been difficult, although steps have been taken by India, and sometimes even by Pakistan, to channel relations onto a calmer path. But today, of course, the change in the political picture in Pakistan itself conceals all sorts of surprises, because the preelection struggle there was pretty tough...

[Primakov, interrupting] ...and it has not finished yet...

[Shishlin, interrupting] ...and it has not finished yet, it has not come to an end yet. And in any event, we are quite justified in regarding the prospects for the development of the situation in this country with a certain element of optimism, but a very moderate degree of optimism. Because, of course, the time of dictatorial regimes is passing, and the democratization of Pakistani society is in itself a response to the requirements of Pakistani society itself. Pakistan is probably in need of a more well-reasoned foreign policy: Its ties should not be limited only to the position of the United States' younger partner. Pakistan itself, I think, is in need of better relations with India, better relations with the Soviet Union. And then, who can tell, then perhaps from a negative factor in respect of the Afghan situation Pakistan may turn into at least a neutral factor. That is, after all, in Pakistan's own interests.

[Primakov] Absolutely right! And you know, we have read a lot of reactions to the events in Pakistan, and very many commentators come to the same conclusion: A defeat was suffered by a party that conducted all its activities, as well as its preelection campaign struggle, on the basis of three things—anti-Sovietism on Afghanistan, anti-Indian attitudes in all sorts of things, and fundamentalism. These three slogans, or three positions, failed to work. Any government that is formed will have to take this as a point of departure: namely, that the majority of the population does not back these three positions. This creates some grounds for being optimistic about the future.

But I wholly concur, this optimism is conditional because Pakistan is a very complex country, and a country that has not yet crossed the frontier of that stage begun by Ziaul Haq.

[Shishlin] Well, I would like to return to a general evaluation of the visit. This visit, I think, is an organic part of the picture of the active and dynamic foreign policy being conducted by the Soviet Union for the sake of a radical improvement of the world political climate. [passage omitted]

[Levin] We wish success to all undertakings and wish them further development in the future. Thank you, dear radio listeners, for your attention. All the best!

Venkataraman Meets Soviet AAPSO Delegate

PM2811113788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meeting in Delhi"]

[Text] Delhi, 27 Nov—On 26 November in the Rashtrapati Bhavan—the presidential palace—Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman received the leaders of the national solidarity committees taking part in the seventh AAPSO Congress, which is being held in the Indian capital.

During a talk with V.G. Tolstikov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, R. Venkataraman assessed highly M.S. Gorbachev's recent official friendly visit to India. Everyone in India is under the great impression left by Gorbachev's personality. There is no doubt that the talks in Delhi will strengthen still further the friendly ties and cooperation between our countries, the president said. He expressed satisfaction in connection with the fact that the AAPSO congress is taking place in the Indian capital in the year of the centenary of the birth of Jawaharlal Nehru and the second anniversary of the signing of the Delhi declaration by the Soviet and Indian leaders.

Sub-Saharan Africa

'Important Step' Made in Namibia Peace Talks

MB2411121588 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] The essence of the agreement [words indistinct] to the South African occupation of Namibia and the granting of independence to the territory in accordance with the UN plan adopted 10 years ago.

The parties concerned worked out a package of measures aimed at ensuring security for Angola and peace in South-West Africa. They are also coordinating a timetable for the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. Until recently, such an extensive political solution to the problems connected with that protracted and acute regional conflict seemed virtually improbable because the parties concerned had absolutely different stands. Nevertheless, what seemed impossible has been achieved and on the only admissable basis of political compromise.

We don't have to (?dispute) who will benefit most from the agreement since the compromise was worked out on the basis of general balance of interests. Angola and Cuba took constructive stands. They continued to advance fresh suggestions (?at) the United States (?settlement). The importance of American mediation and the [word indistinct] South Africa's (?policy) also cannot be overlooked. We refrain from analyzing the reasons for these changes. The fact that the Soviet Union joined the talks as an observer also had a possible impact, as Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos noted.

It's premature to say that all the problems in south-west Africa have been resolved once and for all. South Africa, for one, has not abandoned attempts to induce Angola to include in its government Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the subversive UNITA movement, which depends on Pretoria. There are some other disquieting circumstances stemming from the postures of both Pretoria and Washington. Nevertheless, an extremely important step has been made. It shows [word indistinct] the trend toward settling regional conflicts by political means strengthened in international relations.

Radio Reviews Article on Soviet-RSA Meeting

MB2611200588 Moscow in Afrikaans to Southern Africa 1745 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] The Soviet weekly (SEROVIYAN) published an article entitled: A Meeting That Creates Expectations. (SEROVIYAN) coeditor (Vladimir Ordanskiy) writes in the article about the meeting in Leverkusen, West Germany between representatives of the Soviet Union and South African public organizations. We can briefly analyze the article's content:

Alex Boraine, in describing the meeting's aim, said there is the widespread perception in South Africa that the Soviet Union and communism force voters to support its policy. This meeting helped dispel existing prejudice.

The Leverkusen meeting was, in a sense, a repeat of efforts in Dakar. The Soviet delegation said that one of the participants, a prominent South African economist, said South Africans, including the government, are interested in restructuring in the Soviet Union. A political scientist and professor at a large university described that interest through an example: His department at the university wanted to order a well-known book by Mikhail Gorbachev for the students, but it seemed the book was sold out in South Africa. It had to be ordered from Europe.

(Vladimir Ordanskiy) continues: We, the participants, did not want to (?deny) that the most distorted image of the Soviet Union is spread among many white South Africans. Professor Geldenhuysen prepared a special discourse on this that says there has been a conviction in South Africa since the 1940's that the Soviet Union was spreading communism and encouraging the blacks to revolt. The National Party used the threat of so-called red danger and black (?resistance) in their national slogan during the 1948 election campaign. The National Party attributed to the Soviet Union every possible grievance in the following years.

Concerning white South Africans, it looks more like a besieged stronghold fighting for its existence against the hostile world. The professor's report gives you the impression that it deals with a type of pathology affecting the community's conscience. The community's mentality is affected by racism, causing it to see the world situation in a false light. The community lives in a ghost world created by its own imagination.

The report does harbor some optimism, (Vladimir Ordanskiy) writes. South African authorities are beginning to present the Soviet role in southern Africa more objectively than in the past. Only time will tell if the government has really shifted from anti-Sovietism or whether it's a temporary policy.

A news conference was held, and the leaders of the delegations said they were satisfied with the exchange of views at Leverkusen. This is very important to continuing these discussions, writes Soviet journalist (Vladimir Ordanskiy).

This has been a brief summary of (Vladimir's) article about the Leverkusen meeting. The article is published in a Soviet weekly. More attention is given to South African writer and politician Alex Boraine's life and activities.

UN Wants S. African Death Sentence Repealed

LD2411083588 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] New York November 24 TASS—The Security Council on Wednesday called for a reprieve from the death sentence for a South African anti-apartheid activist. A resolution adopted at an urgent meeting, says that the Security Council, on learning with concern about the intention of the South African authorities to execute anti-apartheid movement activist Paul Tefo Setlaba, calls on the South African Government to cancel the execution and repeal the sentence. U.S. and British representatives abstained in the vote on the resolution.

Anniversary of Ethiopian Treaty Marked

PM2411145788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Demidov dispatch: "On Firm Foundations. Tenth Anniversary of Soviet-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, November—"You are from Soviet Union, comrade?" somebody asked in broken Russian. I turned round to see a friendly smiling face. This often happens. Russian can be heard all over the Ethiopian capital. Russian holds great attractions. Many locals can speak it. Many of them have studied in the Soviet Union and fondly remember their years in Moscow, Kiev, Tashkent, or our other cities. Many learned their language at joint projects in Ethiopia, working side by side with Soviet specialists. Russian has become one of the links in the indissoluble bonds of friendship uniting our peoples.

These bonds have been forged of old. But the key component in them has been the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and Ethiopia signed in Moscow 20 November 1978. This most important document raised bilateral ties between our countries to a qualitatively new level. Following the 1974 victory of the national-democratic revolution in Ethiopia it laid the foundations for the further progressive development of relations between the two countries in various spheres. And a great deal has already been achieved over the last decade.

A long-term program of economic cooperation between our countries is in operation. Relations in the economy have become planned. There is considerable Soviet assistance and technical cooperation in developing sectors which the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] and the republic's state authorities see as key areas.

"We in Ethiopia are very grateful and thankful to the Soviet Union for the aid and technical assistance that we have received and continue to receive in agriculture, industry—including mining—power generation, and education," this correspondent was told by Aklilu Afework, chairman of the Ethiopian Foreign Economic Relations Committee. "This particularly applies to the development and implementation of projects of vital importance to our republic's economic and social development—such as in agriculture, for instance. Farming is still carried out using primitive methods and, regrettably, has suffered various natural disasters and frequent droughts."

The number one task for Ethiopia at the moment is to improve the situation in agriculture. And that is understandable. It employs 85 percent of the country's population and creates 46 percent of its GNP. The sector "earns" more than 80 percent of the republic's export earnings. Without a radical increase in agricultural production—and this was reemphasized at the Ninth WPE

Central Committee Plenum, held here the other day—there will be no end to age-old backwardness and poverty, and the food problem and social and other issues will not be resolved.

The Soviet Union gives Ethiopia support in carrying out the program to make its population self-sufficient in food, contributing to the development and implementation of various projects in agriculture. One could take as an example the project to explore the Baro and Akobo Rivers in Gambale [name as transliterated] (Ilubabor Province). It is planned to create an irrigation system to water thousands and thousands of hectares. Work is currently under way on a scheme to comprehensively utilize and open up the land and water resources in this area. Our country has delivered sets of equipment for the construction of five machine-tractor stations and central agricultural machinery repair workshops to develop Ethiopia's agro-industrial complex.

An intergovernmental protocol on setting up the country's first veterinary control laboratory was signed in the Ethiopian capital 3 weeks ago. Under the agreement the Soviet side will build and fit out the laboratory with the necessary equipment. The opening of the laboratory will make it possible to considerably improve controls over the quality of stockraising output in Ethiopia—of great importance to the country, which leads Africa in terms of livestock numbers.

Agreement was reached at the start of the summer on joint hydrogeological work and drilling for water in southeastern Ethiopia, mainly in the desert regions of the Ogaden, to be carried out in 1988-1989 by Soviet specialists and Ethiopian organizations. To this end the USSR is supplying Ethiopia with drilling installations, pumps, transportation, spares, and other materials. It is not just a question of supplying the Ogaden's population with drinking water but of ultimately developing agriculture in that part of the country.

Considerable help is also being provided in improving the republic's power generating potential and in seeking out and developing mineral deposits. The hydroelectric power station in the hamlet of Melka-Vakane [name as transliterated] on the upper reaches of the Wabe Shebele River will soon be fully operational with the commissioning of the fourth turbine in the very near future. Soviet geologists have been working in Harerge Province since 1981, prospecting in the promising gas region of the Ogaden. Oil men are continuing to drill the Kelub-4 [name as transliterated] and Kelub-5 wells.

The search is on for new and more effective forms and methods of cooperation, and partners' actual opportunities and interests are being weighed up, geared to projects which will be of mutual advantage, while avoiding the mistakes of the past. Incidentally, the Soviet Union is helping to organize planning in Ethiopia. Sessions of the Intergovernmental Commission for Questions of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation and Trade are held regularly.

Joint projects have been forging national cadres. Moreover, thousands of young Ethiopian men and women are now studying in Soviet VUZ's and technical colleges. Teachers and lecturers from our higher education system are working in Addis Ababa University, at the republic's institutes, and particularly at the Bahir Dar Polytechnic Institute, which is a gift from Soviet people to the Ethiopian people. More than 2,500 young people have passed through its auditoriums and teaching workshops. Its graduates now work in various sectors of Ethiopian industry and agriculture.

Soviet physicians, true to their Hippocratic oath, are treating Ethiopian citizens in the capital's Menelik II Hospital and other hospitals. There is not a corner of the country where people have not heard of the USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies' Hospital named for Ded Zhazmag [name as transliterated] (military leader) Balchi [name as transliterated]. Thousands of patients are admitted to the hospital every year.

During the difficult days of the 1984-1985 drought the Soviet Union sent a convoy of heavy trucks to Ethiopia. Soviet drivers delivered shipments of primary necessities to the starving people. Aeroflot plane and helicopter crews worked selflessly, as did aid groups organized into an air detachment to eliminate the consequences of the natural disaster. Some 140,000 tonnes of food were dropped into the affected areas, from where 218,000 peasants were evacuated. Even now our pilots are at work in the skies over Ethiopia.

The importance of the Treaty o[illegible]iendship and Cooperation between the USSR and Ethiopia goes far beyond the framework of bilateral relations and is an example of genuinely equal, friendly, and mutually advantageous ties.

"The treaty," THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD newspaper noted, "was dictated by concern to develop extensive international cooperation, and serves as an important factor of peace and security." The last decade has fully confirmed those words.

East Europe

Hungarian Central Committee Plenum Reported

PM2811144588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "MSZMP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Budapest, 24 Nov—An information report has been published here on the MSZMP Central Committee plenum that has taken place. It dicussed topical questions of the international situation and Hungarian foreign policy, the procedure and methods for the work of

the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, the tasks of MSZMP Central Committee working commissions and apparatus, proposals on the law on nationwide and local referenda, and organizational and other questions.

Speaking at the plenum, K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, indicated the importance of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Hungarian Communist Party now being celebrated.

A document was circulated at the plenum on topical questions of the international situation and Hungarian foreign policy. It points out that the Hungarian Communists and all the Hungarian public are following very attentively the transformations being implemented within the USSR, to which the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference gave a new boost. Work to accelerate political reform has been mounted in the USSR. The CPSU has put forward important initiatives in the economic sphere.

The information report on the work of the plenum says that the MSZMP Central Committee attaches great importance to the measures adopted in the past few months by the CPSU aimed at accelerating the restructuring process, and deems the steps in the sphere of renewing agriculture an important part of the economic reform. The MSZMP and the Hungarian people are following with attention and sympathy the steps being taken to settle the ethnic question in the spirit of Lenin's policy.

Putting forward an addendum to the document, M. Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, noted the great significance of the recent working visit to Hungary paid by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He stressed that the talks held illustrated the growing unity in the actions of the two parties and in their positions in the approach to resolving topical tasks.

The MSZMP Central Committee discussed questions linked with further improving ethnic policy.

Miklos Nemeth Elected New Hungarian Premier

Chosen From Several Candidates

PM2811142788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent B. Rodionov dispatch: "M. Nemeth—Head of Government"]

[Text] Budapest—The MSZMP Central Committee Politburo submitted to the Central Committee plenum and, on a consultative basis, to State Assembly deputies' groups three candidates for the post of chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

During the discussion certain other candidacies arose, one of which was additionally included on the list. The opinion was also expressed that Karoly Grosz should continue to be head of the government. However, the MSZMP Central Committee plenum decided that Comrade Grosz should concentrate fully on carrying out the duties of party general secretary.

The MSZMP Central Committee plenum, the All-Hungarian Council of the Patriotic People's Front, and the State Assembly supported Miklos Nemeth's candidacy. He was elected chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers 24 November.

Paper Profiles New Premier

PM2911105588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed article under the rubric "Who's Who": "Miklos Nemeth, Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] The 40-year-old Miklos Nemeth has become the new Hungarian head of government, the 17th in the country's postwar history.

The decision to elect him as head of government was approved 24 November by the Hungarian State Assembly after a 22 November MSZMP Central Committee Plenum had unanimously decided to request that the Hungarian Presidential Council and the Hungarian State Assembly relieve K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, at his own request, of the simultaneous fulfillment of the duties of chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

At a press conference after Nemeth's election to the post of head of government, Janos Lukacs, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, noted that by recommending M. Nemeth, the party had elected a young, vigorous politician with a good understanding of economic questions, capable of taking thoughtful and vigorous steps to resolve the complex economic problems facing Hungary.

Interview on Economic Cooperation

LD2811220188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Interview with Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth by radio correspondent Vladimir Stefanov on the last day of the Hungarian State Assembly, 26 November; place not given—recorded; Nemeth speaks in Hungarian with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Stefanov] Comrade Nemeth, during the present parliamentary session an idea was voiced that cooperation with the socialist countries and, first and foremost, naturally with the USSR, is ceasing to be a dynamic factor for the Hungarian economy. Do you agree with this? Can you explain it?

[Nemeth] Indeed, if one turns to figures, it is not difficult to note that the difficulties in the economies of both countries—the USSR and Hungary alike—give rise to a slowing down and a certain regression in our interaction in certain important areas. However, when we state this fact it is necessary to add right away what share Soviet-Hungarian cooperation plays in Hungary's foreign economic ties—the volume is enormous, and the reduction of turnover by several percentage points certainly does not put into question the dominant nature of our cooperation.

[Stefanov] Yes, but this aspect was not dealt with in the parliamentary speech by Janos Hoos, chairman of the National Planning Office. Moreover, the problems that have arisen in the area of cooperation between Hungary and the socialist countries, and between Hungary and the Soviet Union, were named as one of the decisive causes of the future slowing down of growth in the Hungarian economy. I discerned a certain reproach in these words.

[Nemeth] One should not perceive it as a reproach. I am well aware of Comrade Hoos' views on Soviet-Hungarian cooperation and I think his intention was different. It was necessary to show the parliament and the whole country that the carefree period in our economic links is a thing of the past. I personally, in my brief speech in the parliament, noted that I regard Soviet-Hungarian relations as being of fundamental significance to us, and that I support their further development and consolidation.

In the nearest future we must jointly find the strength and the resources to overcome the decline in cooperation and give it fresh impetus. I am convinced that the reform process that has gotten underway in the Soviet economy will furnish us with such opportunities. Enterprises ought to search for reserves of interaction, to establish direct links with their partners, to offer output for exports, and to look for goods to import. It is only along this path that I see our joint problems being resolved, concluded Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

Hungarian Party Political School Restructured

PM2811111388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "They Will Be Political Scientists"]

[Text] Budapest, 22 Nov—The MSZMP Central Committee Higher Political School is restructuring its work. It is ridding itself of the function of a "cadre factory" and "springboard" for holding official positions. As of this academic year, the Higher Political School will issue its graduates with political science diplomas.

"Our task is to train people for real work rather than for a post. The country now needs people who can translate theory and decisions into the concrete language of daily practice," Deputy Rector Laszlo Kemen said in explaining the Higher Political School's new tasks.

On the one hand, it is deemed necessary to reinforce students' scientific training, and on the other to ensure that the Higher Party School plays a more active and independent role. The question of the composition of the students is under discussion. Can secondary school graduates be admitted to the Higher Political School? What about nonparty people? Today both have been granted the right of admission.

A "Circle of Friends of the Higher Political School" consisting of graduates and teachers has been set up. They will now meet more frequently—this will help influence political life and better coordinate training with practice. Once a month central television will broadcast from the school, and a "Political Cafe"—a place for meetings and debate—is to open there.

"New tasks are being set with regard to studying and shaping public opinion," L. Kemen said. "As of 1 January next year, a public opinion institute will begin to operate at the Higher Political School."

West Europe

Contradictory Aspects of Howe Commons Speech

PM2811170788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Contradictory Assessments"]

[Text] London, 26 Nov—British Foreign Secretary G. Howe has made a speech in the House of Commons in which he touched on a wide range of foreign policy issues, including problems of East-West relations. Pointing out that "historic opportunities" and, perhaps, "a new era" are now being opened up in these relations, he linked this with the processes of restructuring and glasnost in the USSR. The secretary described the changes taking place in the Soviet Union as "a revolution whose impact is being felt far outside the USSR."

G. Howe welcomed the upcoming visit to Britain by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and emphasized that "a real dialogue" now exists between the two countries which makes it possible "honestly and openly" to discuss the disagreements that exist and to reduce the number of them.

At the same time G. Howe's speech once again expressed the British official circles' traditional assertions that it is necessary to rely on NATO's "strength and unity." A considerable part of his speech was devoted to arguments about the Soviet Union's supposed "tremendous

superiority" over the North Atlantic alliance in conventional arms. In this connection he claimed that NATO "cannot afford to abandon the policy of nuclear deterrence."

In short, G. Howe's speech contained not only constructive elements but also many pretty boring cliches which hardly contribute to the holding of the "real dialogue" which the secretary mentioned.

British Parliament Opening, Queen's Speech Noted
PM2811103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Parliamentary Session"]

[Text] London, 22 Nov—The latest session of the British Parliament has opened here with the colorful medieval ceremony which has remained unchanged for several centuries. It was traditionally begun by Queen Elizabeth II's speech, which briefly summarized the main aspects of the Conservative government's policy.

Touching on international policy issues, the head of state indicated the intention of "her government" to follow a path of "removing the barriers dividing East and West" and also stressed that it will "endeavor to continue constructive work on the basis of its improved relations with the Soviet Union, and looks forward to the forthcoming visit to this country" by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. She noted that the British Government intends to speak out in the international arena in favor of "a balanced, verifiable process of arms control," expressed, in particular, its "determined support" for efforts to secure 50-percent cuts in the Soviet and U.S. strategic nuclear arsenals, and reaffirmed Britain's commitment to the idea of introducing a global ban on chemical weapons.

At the same time, she stressed that a "top priority" of the government is still the maintenance of a "strong, effective defense," a most important element of which is "full-scale implementation of Britain's commitments to the North Atlantic alliance."

Leaders Greeting Mitterrand Arrival Noted
PM2811094588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report "Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] President Francois Mitterrand of France arrived in Moscow 25 November.

He was met on the tarmac at Sheremetyevo Airport by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; and A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The welcoming ceremony was attended by Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers I.S. Belousov and V.M. Kamentsev; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; E.K. Pervyshin, USSR communications equipment industry minister; A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister; Ya.P. Ryabov, USSR ambassador to France, and other officials.

Y. Pagniez, French ambassador to the USSR, was also present.

The state flags of France and the Soviet Union were hoisted at the airport.

Soviet-French Bank Agreement Signed
LD2711015588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1643 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov writes:

The inter-bank agreement signed here today is being assessed in Soviet business circles as an important step in the development of trade and economic ties between the USSR and France. A protocol of intent between the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity and a group of French banks envisions stimulating various forms of economic interaction by the two countries, including leasing, crediting of joint enterprises, and financing of joint projects, including those in third countries.

It is intended that such work should serve as a basis for the development of foreign economic contacts between the USSR and France and the conclusion, where necessary, of financial agreements on specific operations.

Soviet-French Consultations on Near East Held
PM2311135388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Soviet-French consultations on the Near East were held in Paris between V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, and A. Des-Champs, chief of the French Foreign Ministry North Africa and Near East Department.

The participants in the consultations stressed the need to step up efforts, including within the UN framework, to achieve a true improvement in the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and a just solution to the key Palestinian problem. They confirmed their stance in favor of most speedily convening an international conference to this end.

The interlocutors advocated consolidating the Iran-Iraq negotiating process and solving contentious issues on the basis of Security Council Resolution 598.

Soviet-European Conference Opens in Brussels
LD2511033088 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Brussels November 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov:

What are the prospects for developing relations between West European countries and the USSR? What should be done to expand cooperation and strengthen security on the continent? These questions are discussed at the international conference Europe and the Soviet Union, which opened in the Belgian capital today. It is held at the initiative of the Centre for European Policy Studies, an influential organisation which groups public figures, politicians, politologists, journalists, representatives of business and university circles in Western Europe.

Belgium's Minister of Foreign Affairs Leo Tindemans stressed in his speech the importance of strengthening ties between the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which signed this summer a joint declaration on establishing official relations between them. He pointed out that the processes, currently under way in the Soviet Union, open up new possibilities for dialogue and cooperation in Europe, whose significance goes beyond the framework of purely regional interests. Today, he said, one can imagine such a situation when a search for mutually acceptable solutions would replace strategic competition of the great powers at world level.

Tindemans noted the need to continue efforts aimed at achieving disarmament, including complete prohibition of chemical weapons, reduction of nuclear strategic armaments and conventional weapons in Europe.

Soviet-West German Economic Ventures Discussed
AU2511130588 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 20 Nov 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Deepening Cooperation"]

[Text] The appraisal of the first experience in running joint Soviet-West German enterprises; consultations and credits granted by USSR and FRG banks to Soviet enterprises and organizations; cooperation between the two countries in opening up natural resources in various regions—these were the items on the agenda of the eighth session of the expert group for banking and financial issues under the USSR and FRG Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation that ended recently in Kiev. Participating in the meeting were representatives of the largest West German banks, as well as functionaries of the Vneshekonombank, the Gosbank, the Gosplan, and the USSR Ministries of Finance and of Foreign Economic Relations.

It was emphasized at the session that M.S. Gorbachev's recent meeting with H. Kohl provided a good political basis for further developing Soviet-West German economic relations, and gave a new impulse to bilateral cooperation.

At the same time it was noted that the state of trade between the two countries was still below the existing possibilities. The point was to increase the share of finished products in Soviet export to the FRG and to find and apply new advanced forms of economic activity abroad.

In the discussions, prominence was given to the functioning of joint Soviet-West German enterprises, whose number has already reached 19. Representatives of the FRG financial circles emphasized that West German businessmen welcomed the formation of joint enterprises and carefully watched their development. They consider that prospects for cooperation between the two countries to a large extent depend on them.

The participants in the session familiarized themselves with the activity of the joint enterprise founded by the January Insurrection heavy crane construction association in Odessa and a Swiss-West German firm, "Liebher."

Soviet-FRG Technical Trade Center To Open
PM2811125988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Lukyanov article: "'Oktopus' Registered in Moscow"]

[Text] The number of cooperation projects between the Soviet Union and other countries is growing with every passing day. The address of another—Frezer Highway, Moscow—was added 24 November to the many that already exist. A press conference was held there by the West German firm Varioline Handelsgesellschaft in connection with the forthcoming opening of the "Oktopus" technical trade center in Moscow. The FRG partners were assisted in implementing the project by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity and the Moscow City Soviet.

It is well known that modern production, even the most complex, is based on standard components. Bearing in mind the fact that from time to time certain elements of production equipment break down, the question of their rapid replacement arises. This has been the Varioline firm's business for more than 10 years now. There is cooperation with Soviet organizations too. Restructuring in the foreign economic sphere in the Soviet Union has opened up new prospects. Enterprises and associations have become able to establish direct contacts with foreign partners. "Oktopus," its creators believe, will be a kind of intermediary between Soviet enterprises and foreign firms. This is particularly important during a period of accelerated industrial modernization: There

are frequent examples of necessary components taking years to track down and be delivered. The establishment of a technical trade center with a large data bank on scientific and technical achievements in both East and West will make it possible to save not only time but money.... All this will happen in the near future. Initially the main task of the "Oktopus" technical trade center will be to efficiently supply Soviet industry with spares and components.

Around 215 leading Western firms will display their wares in a permanent exhibit at the exhibition center. In turn, Soviet clients will be able to obtain the spares they need from the center's warehouse in Moscow.

Thus, "Oktopus" has been received its "pass" for Moscow. The newcomer is expected in February, when the center will open its doors to customers.

Kovalev Receives West German Ambassador

PM2911094588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception of Ambassador"]

[Text] On 25 November A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received A. Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. Their talk touched on several practical questions of Soviet-West German relations.

Soviet-Austrian Cooperation Talks Open in Vienna

Ryzhkov Greets Commission

LD2111155088 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 21 TASS—"Soviet-Austrian cooperation is a convincing example of dynamic and constructive ties between states with different social systems," says a message sent by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the participants in the 20th session of the mixed Soviet-Austrian commission.

The commission will discuss topical issues of economic, scientific and technological ties between the two countries.

"The Soviet Union and Austria invariably build their relations on principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, and conscientious fulfilment of mutual pledges. I think that we have grounds to regard our cooperation as the two countries' mutual contribution to building a new European home," the message said.

It noted that: "The accumulated experience of business ties and the radical economic reform currently being carried out in the USSR in the course of perestroyka create favourable prerequisites for extensive use of more efficient forms and methods of cooperation. These are first of all the deepening of co-production and the establishment of joint ventures in the interests of expanding mutual trade and improving its structure."

Session Ends, Documents Signed

PM2811113988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan dispatch: "Agreements Being Carried Out"]

[Text] Vienna—The 20th session of the Soviet-Austrian Joint Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has ended in Vienna.

Speaking after the document signing ceremony, Robert Graf, Austrian minister for economic affairs, made a high assessment of the work done by the session participants.

"Although this was a jubilee session, it was very businesslike," he said. "Cooperation between Austria and the Soviet Union continues to develop on an ascending line."

Satisfaction at the results of the session was also expressed by B.I. Gostev, chairman of the Soviet side of the joint commission and USSR finance minister. In conversation with this correspondent he said, in particular:

"We examined the progress in carrying out previous agreements and concluded that they are being carried out successfully. New forms of cooperation have appeared alongside traditional forms. Twelve Austrian firms have agreed to set up joint ventures on Soviet territory. The total capital behind these ventures is R34 million. Their output will be sold not only in our two countries but will also be marketed in other countries.

"Most of the contracts concluded are long-term and therefore guarantee stable development. For instance, the agreement to supply Soviet gas to Austria covers a 25-year period."

Cooperation Talks With Turkey Open in Ankara

LD2411083088 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Ankara November 24 TASS—The eleventh meeting of the mixed intergovernmental Soviet-Turkish Commission on Economic Cooperation opened in the Turkish capital on Wednesday. The Soviet delegation is headed by Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, the Turkish delegation by Turkey's Minister of Finance and Customs Kurtcebe Alptemucin. Speaking at a news conference here, the Turkish minister noted, that alongside rapid development of commercial and economic relations between the two countries there exist now very serious proposals for Soviet-Turkish cooperation in third countries.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD2511134988 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Ankara November 25 TASS—A protocol that envisions increased economic, trade, and also scientific-technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Turkey was signed in the building of Turkey's National Assembly Thursday.

Speaking at the protocol signing ceremony in Ankara, Konstantin Katushev, Soviet minister of external economic relations who heads the Soviet delegation, noted that the document signed was of both economic and political importance.

Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemucin, minister of finance and customs and head of the Turkish delegation, pointed out that the protocol opened ample opportunities for joint Soviet-Turkish cooperation in third countries. He also underscored the immense importance of the document to the development of cross-border trade.

The head of the Soviet delegation was received by Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal.

Katushev Meets With Turkish Businessmen

PM2811111188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, who is in Turkey in connection with the holding of the 11th session of the joint intergovernmental Soviet-Turkish Economic Cooperation Commission, has met in Istanbul with members of the leadership of the Turkish-Soviet committee for business cooperation.

During the talk there was an examination of problems of the development of bilateral trade and economic ties. Both sides stressed their desire to expand contacts between representatives of Turke 's business circles and interested Soviet organizations.

Gorbachev Report Published in Turkey

LD2211132288 Moscow TASS in English 1211 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Ankara November 22 TASS—The well-known Turkish publishers Onur has published a report "On Implementation of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Tasks of Perestroyka (Restructuring)", delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, at the 19th all-union party conference.

The report was published in book-form in the Turkish language.

According to the local press, Mikhail Gorbachev is one of the most popular authors in Turkey. His book "Perestroyka: New Thinking for This Country and the World" has already been reprinted three times.

About 10 of Gorbachev's works have been published so far this year in Turkey.

Murakhovskiy Meets With Swedish Businessmen

LD2311043888 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Moscow November 22 TASS—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received today members of the leadership of the Swedish company Tetra Pak led by Hans Rauzing.

During the meeting held in a businesslike and benevolent atmosphere, the sides examined specific questions of trade and economic cooperation. Special attention was given to establishing joint ventures.

It was pointed out with satisfaction that the sides got down to vigorous practical activities on building design capacities of a Soviet-Swedish-Brazilian enterprise "Progress" which will produce and pack fruit juices and other fruit and vegetable products, after the signing last July of founding documents for establishing this venture in the city of Lipetsk (centre of the USSR's European part).

Work was completed on drafting the statute, agreement and feasibility report on establishing a joint venture (together with the Tetra Pak company) in Kiev, the capital of the Soviet Ukraine. It will put out annually 25,000 tonnes of packing material of the "Tetra Brik" and "Tetra brik aseptic" type. A decision was made to sign founding documents in the near future.

The sides also discussed some other questions on the development of economic relations.

CEMA-Finland Commission Discusses Cooperation

LD2311164988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Helsinki, 23 Nov (TASS)—Questions of expanding business contacts between Finland and the socialist countries are being discussed at the 16th session of the Finnish Cooperation Commission and CEMA, which has opened here. Greeting on behalf of the Finnish Government guests from Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia, Pertti Salolaine, Finnish foreign trade minister, said that during the year significant success has been achieved in developing a mutually favorable multilateral partnership. The minister stressed Finland's interest in further boosting links with the CEMA.

This year sees the 15th anniversary of the signing of the cooperation agreement between Finland and the CEMA and the formation of the cooperation commission. The 1.5 decades of collaboration have borne practical fruit. Between the competent bodies, organizations, and firms of the interested CEMA member countries and Finland, 132 agreements on scientific-technical and economic cooperation have been concluded. In 1987 trade between them amounted to a total of R4,272,500,000—more than 17 percent of Finland's current total trade.

The participants in the session, which will last 3 days, are to discuss the progress in fulfilling an earlier ratified plan of work and implementation of existing agreements. Proposals for the further improvement of trade terms and the sides' critical remarks will also be examined. Questions of developing multilateral cooperation in the fields of machine-building, the chemical industry, transportation, statistics, and standardization are included as individual points on the session agenda.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

LD2711024788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Helsinki, 25 Nov (TASS)—The 16th session of the cooperation commission between CEMA and the Republic of Finland has ended here by determining the basic directions in the development of cooperation between Finland and the socialist countries for next year. The final protocol signed today by the representatives of Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, USSR, and Czechoslovakia contains a long list of specific recommendations to raise mutually advantageous business contacts to a new level.

It has been recommended, in particular, to embark on talks or exchange of information and experience on the subjects that are of mutual interest in areas such as machine building, the chemical industry, transport, statistics, and standardization.

The commission, which celebrated its 15th anniversary this year, has made a considerable contribution to the cause of developing partnership between Finland and socialist countries. In this year alone, as stated by Finnish Foreign Trade Minister Pertti Salolainen, who chaired the meeting, 19 agreements have been concluded in its framework on cooperation in science and technology. Now the main task, the minister stressed, is to transfer to direct links between the main economic sections of our countries. [passage omitted]

Soviet-Cypriot Political Consultations End

LD2511033588 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—The three-day Soviet-Cypriot political consultations were concluded at the USSR Foreign Ministry today. Within the framework of the consultations Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, met with Andreas Mavrammates, general director of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Cyprus.

During the conversation a substantial exchange of views took place on a wide range of issues pertaining to ensuring comprehensive security. It focused, in particular, on ways of developing the common European process, the Non-Aligned Movement and further development of friendly Soviet-Cypriot relations.

Cyprus: Moscow Comments on NATO Exercises

NC2211215788 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1800 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] As the Cypriot press has reported, NATO military exercises, with the participation of U.S. military units, are being conducted at the British base in Akrotiri. According to our correspondent, this report reached the teletypes simultaneously with the reports about a new meeting between President Yeoryios Vasiliou and Rauf Denktas, which starts today.

At the moment the president of the Republic and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community departed for New York, U.S. Phantom aircraft flew over the island in military exercises. They did this, it should be understood, with the approval of the command of that British base. Thus, once again, London let it be understood that it considers its bases to be British territory, which can be used for any purpose and in any manner that Great Britain may deem fit.

The Cyprus press has repeatedly reported the fact that these purposes agree with Pentagon plans. Only 1 year ago, the newspapers reported that under the excuse of conducting regular exercises, U.S. and British military air force units further strengthened their military base at Akrotiri with the arrival of new aircraft and other warfare-related technical equipment.

At that time, the existence of a secret U.S.-British agreement, that provided for the presence of U.S. Air Force attack units at Akrotiri, was also revealed. The general picture was completed earlier with published reports about the installation on the island of special U.S. electronic equipment, and of espionage stations for radio-electronic bugging.

No less alarming reports came, and continue to come, from the northern part of the island, with regard to the construction of a giant airfield for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces in the Lefkoniko area and the construction of a military, naval, and nuclear base in Kyrenia and on the Pentadaktylos Mountains.

The facts that we have cited make one surmise that the Pentagon is persistently converting the island into a U.S.-NATO support point for the eastern Mediterranean

region. The noise of the U.S. military planes over the island on the eve of the new round of intercommunal dialogue clearly shows two tendencies that have arisen with regard to the Cyprus issue. On the one hand, the goal of the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots is to find a common language and to achieve a fair settlement of the internal aspects of the Cyprus issue; on the other, there is increasing activity by the powers that would be assisted by the partitioning of the island, so that they could carry out their strategic military plans. This is precisely why the United States rejects the idea of an international conference on Cyprus under UN auspices. And it is precisely for this reason that Washington turns a deaf ear to the appeals of the Cyprus Government and the United Nations for the island's demilitarization and for the removal of all foreign troops and military bases there.

The teletype machines have conveyed two pieces of news: one came from New York, where another effort is being exerted for a step toward an internal Cypriot settlement; the second came from Cyprus, where NATO military exercises are being held, exercises which make the achievement of such a settlement difficult.

Soviet Justice Minister Arrives in Rome

LD2311154088 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Rome November 23 TASS—Boris Kravtsov, minister of justice of the USSR, arrived in Rome for an official visit today at the invitation of his Italian counterpart, Giuliano Vassalli.

Spanish Communist Party Delegation Ends Visit

LD2111052788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1943 GMT 20 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—In accordance with a plan for exchanges and cooperation between the CPSU and the PCE, a delegation of the PCE headed by J. Azcona, member of the Secretariat of the PCE Central Committee, was in the Soviet Union from 12 to 20 November. The delegation acquainted itself with experience of the CPSU's work in the conditions of restructuring.

The Spanish comrades were received in the CPSU Central Committee's Party Construction and Cadre Work Department and its International Department, and had talks in the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Social Sciences and at the editorial offices of PRAVDA.

The delegation made a visit to the Ukrainian SSR and was received at the Kiev Obkom of the Ukrainian CP and the Ukrainian republican trade union council. It visited an industrial enterprise, a state farm, and educational establishments, and acquainted itself with the work of party organizations.

The Spanish comrades took a lively interest in the development of the process of restructuring of Soviet socialist society, in the changes which are taking place in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres of its life, and in the implementation of the principles of the new thinking and the innovative foreign policy of the CPSU. Taking Spain as an example, they noted that these changes are promoting the strengthening of the influence of the ideals of socialism in the world.

Latin America & Caribbean

Soviet-Nicaraguan Economic Commission Meets

Economic Ties Discussed

PM2811114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversations Held"]

[Text] A conversation took place 24 November between V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and H. Ruiz, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and Nicaraguan minister of foreign cooperation, who is in the Soviet Union in connection with the fourth session of the Soviet-Nicaraguan Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation. During a friendly conversation they discussed the state of and prospects for economic ties between the Soviet Union and Nicaragua.

The conversation was attended by V.D. Nikolayenko, Soviet ambassador to Nicaragua, E. Castillo, Nicaraguan ambassador to the Soviet Union, and members of the Nicaraguan delegation.

On the same day V.M. Kamentsev received R. Cabrisas, Cuban foreign trade minister. During a friendly and frank conversation they discussed questions of the development of trade and economic relations between the two countries.

Agreements Signed

PM2911100188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Documents Signed"]

[Text] The fourth session of the Soviet-Nicaraguan Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation was held in Moscow 23-25 November.

The Soviet and Nicaraguan delegations, headed by A.I. Kachanov, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations; and H. Ruiz, member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front national leadership, commandant of the revolution, and Nicaraguan minister of

foreign cooperation, examined the state of Soviet-Nicaraguan trade and economic and scientific and technical relations and outlined measures to enhance their effectiveness.

A number of documents were signed on questions of economic cooperation.

Hurricane Problems Discussed

PA2711220888 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Text] The fourth meeting of the Soviet-Nicaraguan Joint Intergovernmental Commission on economic-trade and scientific-technical cooperation ended in Moscow yesterday. The agreements were signed on behalf of the USSR by Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and for Nicaragua by Henry Ruiz, member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front National Directorate and minister of foreign cooperation.

Our correspondent Anselmo Septien had a brief interview with Commander Henry Ruiz:

[Begin recording] [Septien] Could you please tell us about the documents you have just signed with Soviet representatives?

[Ruiz] We have just ended the fourth joint intergovernmental commission's meeting, based on a 3-year intergovernmental agreement signed exactly 3 years ago. The agreement included the supply of raw material, machinery, equipment, and technical assistance for development and technical assistance in other fields.

We have evaluated the work accomplished by the third commission. We believe significant progress has been made, particularly regarding the efficient use of resources. Nicaragua shares the Soviet concern on this aspect, not only because of the value of the merchandise itself, but also because of its value for the country's organization and reconstruction.

Following the same guidelines, the fourth commission has signed trade agreements for supplying machinery and equipment—especially transportation and construction equipment in view of new economic problems affecting the country as a result of Hurricane Joan.

The agreement also calls for supplying raw material, including oil. This problem was analyzed, and the USSR has guaranteed a supply of 60,000 tons. However, this continues to be a major problem that not only worries the Nicaraguan members, but the Soviets as well.

We have managed to cope with the problem. The Nicaraguan Government knows that whatever is not solved by this commission will require further efforts to find solutions. This has been our experience in the past, and we have thus always managed to meet our needs.

Regarding assistance for development, the same guidelines will be followed. We have rationed resources better to use them more efficiently and obtain results in less time than expected.

We have also unofficially—as a topic not on the commission's agenda—discussed the problems related to the national emergency caused by the hurricane and have received a positive reply with the supply of food and other goods. [end recording]

Nicaraguan Economic Problems Blamed on U.S.

LD2611060388 Moscow TASS in English 0857 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Managua November 25 TASS—To cope with the economic crisis plaguing Nicaragua as a result of the U.S. aggressive policy and economic sanctions, the republic's government had recourse to rigid fund-saving measures.

Prices for all types of fuel have been officially raised since Thursday and the national monetary unit devalued by almost 60 per cent. As a result of these measures prices for services and many goods have gone up. Simultaneously, the government was compelled to keep the wages of 77,000 production floor and office workers at the previous level. Fernando Cuadro, deputy labour minister of Nicaragua, said that the Republic currently did not have finances to raise the working people's wages due to the deepening crisis in the economy.

Managers of large enterprises were proposed to tackle jointly with workers the question of making up for the surge in inflation. It is simultaneously reported that many medium and small private and state enterprises would be forced to halt their operation.

The economic crisis afflicting Nicaragua is sequel to the U.S. aggressive course vis-a-vis this small Central American country. This state lost 254 million dollars only as a result of the embargo on trade with Nicaragua, imposed by Washington. The economic damage brought to the Republic by the U.S. undeclared war exceeds 12 billion dollars. The grave economic position has been exacerbated still more by the destructive consequences of the recent hurricane which inflicted losses on Nicaragua running into 828 million dollars.

Gorbachev's Visit to Cuba Previewed

PA2211030388 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0200 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Commentary by (Anatoliy Druzhkov) and Viktor Antilov]

[Text] [Antilov] We would like to talk to all of you in your homes about a party that is going to be held. It is an important event for Soviet-Cuban relations and for the friendship between our peoples. We are referring to CPSU General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev's friendly and official visit to Cuba, at the invitation of Cuban Leader Fidel

Castro Ruz. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to Cuba is presently the source of many commentaries on our radio and television programs. Isn't that true, (Anatoliy)?

[(Druzhkov)] Yes, it is true.

[Antilov] We, as politicians, received the news of his trip with enthusiasm, because, in our opinion, the visit will enhance relations between our countries. Especially now that the Soviet-Cuban Friendship Society is preparing to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution's victory. Gorbachev's visit will be another of the activities already being held by the friends of Cuba here in the USSR.

Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Cuba also has strong political significance. It is very important for socialist countries to join efforts and work together to further the world's struggle for peace. Personally, I am interested in Gorbachev's trip because it will allow me to know how our countries' efforts for peace, disarmament, and detente will be pursued; also, how we are going to work together to eliminate the many resources that are being spent to produce new lethal weapons, and how we are going to rechannel these resources to promote prosperity in our countries, socialism, and humanity in general.

We believe this visit will also enhance our economic relations. It has been reported that important agreements are being prepared and will be signed during the Soviet-Cuban summit in Havana.

Each and every one of the Radio Moscow Cuban editorial staff wants to go to Havana and attend the event. It is going to be a great party when the two leaders and, through them, their countries get together. I can just imagine how Havana is going to look when Gorbachev arrives during the first part of December.

Salvadoran Rebel Discusses 'National Debate'

PA1911191088 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Interview with FMLN member Victor Hernandez by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Victor Hernandez, could you tell us about the national debate your country's Catholic Church has been promoting and the government's attitude toward it?

[Hernandez] We believe the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] looks favorably upon the national debate promoted by the Catholic Church because it is one more effort, a step forward, in the search for a political solution to the Salvadoran conflict. It is also positive because it showed the people of El Salvador and the world that more social and political forces are trying to agree on a position regarding the Salvadoran problem. It is no accident that the national debate shows the need to struggle for a solution with sovereignty and national independence.

We must denounce the government's attitude—the attitude of the ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] Party, the Christian Democratic Party, and other reactionary forces—of rejecting, isolating, and even accusing the Catholic Church of serving the interests of communists. We believe this attitude by the government and right-wing forces of not backing the national debate follows the Reagan administration's policy of seeking a military instead of a political solution; thus, the government's attitude toward the debate is no accident. The government is an accomplice to the military solution promoted by the Reagan administration.

[Correspondent] Why have the last meetings between the FDR [Revolutionary Democratic Front], the FMLN representatives, and the Salvadoran Government not brought about the desired results?

[Hernandez] The FMLN has met with government representatives on several occasions seeking dialogue and negotiation. Since 7 October 1984, when the first dialogue was held in La Palma, Chalatenango—others have followed—the government has always torpedoed and boycotted the results. The goverment has agreed to a dialogue with the FMLN—or rather to sit at the negotiating table with the FMLN when it has been to their tactical advantage; when it has felt militarily and politically weak. In other words, it has used the dialogue with the FMLN for maneuvering space or for a breath of fresh air for its political plans.

As for the FDR meeting with the government, that does not seem to have happened. However, there have been attempts to meet with high-level officers and other persons who are trying to find a road toward consensus or a political solution to the conflict.

USSR-Bound Chilean Communist Montez Arrested

PM2211112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Political observer V. Korionov article: "Unbreakable!"]

[Text] Jorge Montez, member of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission, has been arrested at Santiago Airport. He was intending to fly to the Soviet Union to fetch his wife and daughters, who had previously taken refuge in our country.

The name of Jorge Montez is known to the Soviet people, in particular, through the book "Light in Storm Clouds," which was published by the Political Literature Publishing House several years ago. This book was written by the author in the torture chambers of Pinochet's jails and was first published underground. A brave fighter against fascism, Montez was declared "missing" by the junta, like thousands of other patriots. In reality

he spent 3 agonizing years in captivity, including a continuous 65 days and nights blindfolded. Torture did not break the revolutionary, whose motto was: "Where death rules, you must show that you are stronger than the butchers." He proved stronger than the jailers, and international solidarity helped him out of the torture chambers.

And now the courageous antifascist is once again behind bars. He has been thrown there on an absurd charge of "participating in terrorist activity." In reality this is, of course, an act of class vengeance by the dictatorship, which is in a paroxysm of despair in connection with the fact that the Chilean people said "No!" to it in the recent plebiscite. And Montez is not the first victim of this terror. News agencies report that eight patriots have died at the hands of goons in Chile just in the last few days.

Timeservers are committing atrocities. But in this way they confirm how bottomless is the gulf dividing them from the Chilean people.

The years which J. Montez spent in Pinochet's prison hell have not broken him, as well as thousands of other antifascists. We believe that he will find freedom even now, just as the entire freedom-loving Chilean people will find it in the end!

Political & Social

USSR Supreme Soviet Session Opens 29 Nov

Present Leaders Listed

LD2911093288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] At 1000 today in the Great Kremlin Palace, the 12th extraordinary session of the 11th convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet began work. It began with a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, Yazov, and Balkanov were greeted with applause by deputies and guests.

The session was opened by Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The session's agenda and the procedure of its work were approved unanimously. Questions on measures to implement political reforms in the sphere of state construction and on the election of USSR people's deputies have been tabled for discussion. The questions have been tabled by the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The proposal to include them on the agenda of the session was approved by the council of Elders of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has given a report on measures to implement political reforms in the sphere of state construction. Debates on the report have now begun at the session.

Citizens' Views Noted

LD2911071988 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) opened a special session in the Kremlin today.

It is to consider two most important draft laws amending the Soviet Constitution and the electoral procedures. The draft laws will be submitted to the session by Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Both documents have been discussed by the public for four weeks running. Several million people have expressed their attitude to the drafts through the press, in letters to organs of power.

An overwhelming majority of the population regard the draft laws as an important step in the development of Soviet democracy. At the same time, there were certain critical comments and objections against individual clauses.

The views of rank-and-file Soviet citizens, scientists, public organisations and republican bodies were summed up by a preparatory commission of deputies, set up by the parliament specially for the purpose. About a half of the clauses in both drafts were clarified or given a new wording.

Legislative proposals commissions and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet agreed with the edited texts of the drafts. Now it is up to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

For the drafts to become laws, they require the approval of more than a half of the deputies making up the two equal chambers of parliament—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

Debate on Proposals Begins

LD2911114388 Moscow TASS in English 1132 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) opened a special session in the Kremlin today. The deputies are to decide on the future of two major draft laws concerning changes to the federal Constitution and elections of people's deputies.

Presenting the documents to the session, Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said in his report that it would be impossible to deepen perestroyka, or restructuring, "without democratising all our life, without reviving soviets (councils) as representative bodies of power and self-government of the people." The draft laws were directed at achieving precisely that.

The legislative acts under discussion set principles of authority and the electoral system. It is proposed to create a new supreme body of state authority, the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, which would meet, normally, once a year.

The Supreme Soviet would become a permanently operating body of authority.

A new state post, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is being introduced.

A committee for constitutional compliance of the USSR is being instituted for the first time in Soviet political practice.

As to elections, the draft law creates firm guarantees of their democratic character. Electing one deputy out of several candidates was the most important feature of the new law, the speaker said.

Debates started after the report.

Valentina Shevchenko, president of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Aleksey Kamai, first secretary of the Gomel (Belorussia) Regional Party Committee, Ivan Zhirnov, a machine operator from Leningrad, and other deputies backed the draft laws on the whole after making a number of individual suggestions.

The debate on the drafts will be continued in the afternoon.

Gorbachev Address on Draft Laws

LD2911073988 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—The draft laws on the elections of people's deputies and amendments and supplements to the Constitution of the USSR 'give a new powerful impetus to the process of democratization of Soviet society,' said President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev. He delivered a report on these two documents at a session of Soviet parliament in the Kremlin on Tuesday.

The Soviet leader described perestroyka underway in the USSR as the main priority in the activity of the party and state. He emphasized that it is 'a key to the preservation and development of genuine socialist gains, ideals and principles, to the overcoming of deformations and negative phenomena inherited from the past and to the solution of practical problems in every region, district, work collective.'

This is why the main lesson drawn from the recent past is that only the democratisation of our entire life, the revival of soviets as representative bodies of people's power and self-government, could guarantee to overcome stagnation, the speaker said.

Vast and complex tasks now face the country, but it is important not to be taken aback by the scope of novelty, multiformity of judgements and surging emotions, he went on.

All political problems should be resolved in conditions of socialism proceeding from the main thing—the interests of the working people, the Soviet leader said. He noted that in the period immediately after the October revolution it was precisely 'through local soviets that millions of workers and peasants got involved in political affairs and began to learn how to govern their state. The work of the apparatus was carefully controlled through workers' and peasants' inspection.'

The speaker then recalled the huge costs the country had to pay—in human, political, ideological and moral terms, and not least of all the material losses—as a result of the fact that the democratic process was disrupted and since the early 30's, authoritarian methods of power were estabished and mass repressions and other violations of socialist legality became widespread.

'Gradual limitation of working people's real participation in managing state and public affairs, the growing gap between officially-proclaimed democratic principles and the practice of the political process, the crowding out of representative bodies by the apparatus and its ever growing bureaucratization, alienation from the masses—all this resulted in the ossifying of the political system. From motor of society it started to turn into a brake on its development.'

The speaker emphasized that the values of the October revolution should be revived now. Slogans of freedom and democracy proclaimed by the revolution should be implemented, taking into account accumulated economic, social, cultural and intellectual potential. In this connection he noted that reform of the political system is an extremely complex task.

Touching upon the first stage of the reform, Mikhail Gorbachev said that it includes the renewal of the structure of Soviets, the procedure of formation and activity of supreme bodies of power, of the electoral system. This is the purpose of the draft laws submitted for the discussion of this session.

The next important stage of political transformation will be connected with harmonizing relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its constituent republics. 'Questions of the status of union republics, the widening of their rights and potentialities in political, social, economic and cultural life, the consolidation of our federal Soviet socialist state will be discussed at that stage. The same applies to autonomous formations—republics, regions, districts,' the Soviet leader said.

The restructuring of local government bodies will be one more stage of the reform, the speaker said. It is necessary to ensure the creation of all material and juridical prerequisites so that the soviets can really decide on all local affairs and be revived as full-fledged bodies of people's self-government.

The elections to local soviets on the basis of the new electoral system, planned for late 1989, will make it possible to nominate resourceful and vigorous people capable of using the new possibilities of representative bodies to the full.

Dwelling on the results of the country-wide discussion of the draft laws submitted to the session, Mikhail Gorbachev noted that "the Soviet people endorse the main idea of the documents—the consolidation of people's power."

Millions of people took part in this discussion, and more than 300 thousand remarks and suggestions were made. "A more accurate definition of 32 out of the 62 articles of the draft Law on the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR and 26 out of the 55 articles of the draft Law on Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution is proposed as a result of the discussion," the speaker said.

Dwelling of how the draft laws correspond to the decisions of the 19th conference of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev said that society had expressed satisfaction with the fact that the draft laws are in line with conference's political directives. Fundamental political decisions of the conference are one thing and translation of these decisions into the language of legal formulae, making them more specific is another. A great many of new aspects appear and they, naturally, become the subject of vigorous debate.

Questions of the economic mechanism and food supply, ecology and the work of law-enforcement bodies, and many other things which have a bearing on people's needs and living conditions were discussed.

Mikhail Gorbachev dwelled particularly on statements in favour of broader and more far-reaching changes in the Constitution of the USSR. Many things in the 1977 Constitution need renewal, but this needs further work, he said. Meanwhile "it is proposed to incorporate in the Fundamental Law only those amendments without which the shaping of a new structure of the soviets and a political reform cannot be started."

Appraising the main content of the draft laws, the speaker said that the cardinal task of the current reform is "to breathe new life into the soviets". In accordance with the demands of the 19th Conference of the Soviet Communist Party all the most important matters of state, economic, social and cultural life will be considered and decided by the soviets.

The speaker recalled the fact that the state apparatus and agencies had quite often dominated the soviets. Deputies, particularly those of the higher levels of the soviets, exerted little influence on the implementation of decisions, and their participation in law-making was largely formal. This state of affairs must change, Mikhail Gorbachev said. Deputies have a constant legislative, managerial and controlling function.

"In this connection it should be noted particularly that the congress as the supreme body of power, retains the right to make final decisions on the most important constitutional matters. Moreover, its right to discuss any matter of state affairs in the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is recorded."

But the congress, which will consist of more than 2,000 deputies and which as a rule will convene once a year, will certainly be unable to perform a daily legislative, managerial or controlling function, he went on. This function is to be performed by a permanent Supreme Soviet elected by the congress from among people's deputies.

Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that during the country-wide discussion much interest was shown in the new structure of central power. Most specifically, the question arose about how much the return to congresses of people's deputies and the creation of a new Supreme Soviet as a standing parliament are justified. He said the need for such changes is dictated by the experience of the past and the realities of today.

Dwelling on the powers of the two equal chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, the Soviet leader said that "while their full equality, including equal numerical composition, is preserved, each of them assumes specific functions in accordance with their purposes. This approach met with approval and support during the discussion."

The speaker spoke in favour of increasing the number of representatives from each union republic in the Soviet of Nationalities from seven to eleven, while agreeing to the proposed number of representatives from autonomous formations. He proposed that the numerical composition of the Council of the Union be increased accordingly.

When new functions of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and duties of president of the USSR Supreme Soviet are defined, the draft law proposes to establish a procedure under which the president would be given enough power to organize the work of the Supreme Soviet, of its Presidium, while avoiding the excessive concentration of power in one person. Therefore, the principle of collective leadership, traditional for the Soviet system, is preserved in dealing with state problems of key importance.

The Soviet leader dwelt particularly in the report on the problem of control over power. He emphasized that at the present stage of revolutionary perestroyka it is important "to create every necessary guarantee that no section of the state mechanism can get out of control of the people and its representatives." He said that the congress of people's deputies is the country's highest controlling authority. It performs this function first of all when it elects or endorses the election of the highest officials—president of the Supreme Soviet, head of government and others.

Besides that, "during the discussion it was proposed that the congress could recall any official, elected or appointed, if they fail to discharge their duties. This has been taken into account in the draft law", the speaker said.

After taking these proposals into consideration the proposals, [as received] he went on, the draft law now says that "the USSR Supreme Soviet has the right to veto decrees of the Presidium, instructions of president of the Supreme Soviet, and the accountability of the government to the Supreme Soviet, at least once a year, is stipulated."

The authority of the People's Control Committee is considerably enhanced. It is granted the right of legislative initiative, while the post of the committee's chairman entails membership of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Thus the entire influence of the supreme government bodies will be brought into play for the restoration of justice wherever it is violated or for the prevention of negative phenomena, the soviet leader said.

He said that "the proposal for the creation of the committee of Constitution supervision met with approval during the country-wide debate. We all want it to be an authoritative and, it would be appropriate to say, an unbiased organ protecting the Constitution and the fundamental principles it establishes.

The speaker dwelt on questions of the structure of the supreme republican bodies of power and noted that these questions will comprise the main content of the second stage of [words indistinct].

In connection with the opinions about excessive centralization which were expressed during the discussion of the draft laws, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that "the question of the correlation of the union and the republics should be resolved in the context of perestroyka, in the framework of democratisation of our society". "All republics are vitally interested in a strong central power capable of tackling country-wide tasks and of helping republics cope with problems which they cannot solve on their own. Vast possibilities of growth, of enhancing the prosperity of all the peoples of our country lie in the pooling of the republics' efforts in common interests", he went on.

Deplorably, the laws adopted by Estonia's Supreme Soviet went far beyond this framework, while some provisions of those documents contradict the notions of a socialist federation as a voluntary formation of equal republics, Mikhail Gorbachev said. In this connection he pointed out that the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet proclaimed invalid the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Republic as they were unconstitutional. At the same time it was deemed necessary at this stage to take into consideration a number of remarks and make substantial corrections in the draft of supplements to the Constitution.

As is known, the entire gamut of questions connected with the status of republics, with the widening of their rights and potentialities is planned to be discussed by a plenum of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on problems of inter-ethnic relations.

Mikhail Gorbachev submitted a proposal to instruct the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the commissions of legislative proposals of the chambers to form a special working group and to include in it deputies representing all union republics. This group, with the participation of specialists—economists, sociologists, jurists—could study the development of powers of the USSR and the republics point by point and could analyse active processes and arrive at a definition of their powers that would promote the country's further development and the harmonising of inter-ethnic relations under conditions of perestroyka.

[Moscow TASS in English at 0939 GMT on 29 November transmits a service message killing the preceding 7 paragraphs:

Paragraph 32, first sentence, strike: The speaker dwelt on... through paragraph 38, last sentence: ...conditions of perestroyka.

Moscow TASS in English at 0954 GMT on 29 November transmits a "corrected version" of this passage:

Paragraph 34, last sentence reads: ...he went on.

"It is obvious," Mikhail Gorbachev said further, "That some of the provisions of the bills were not formulated precisely enough and caused quite a few critical remarks in the course of discussions. On the basis of their thorough study in the commissions on legislative propsoals of the USSR Supreme Soviet it was deemed necessary to take into consideration a number of remarks and make substantial corrections in the draft of supplements to the Constitution. They refer to the provisions which were seen as limiting the rights of constituent republics in the questions of legislation, determining the structure and guidelines for the activity of republican bodies, their competence in the field of social, economic and cultural development."

The entire gamut... (replacing paragraphs 35 and 36 with above passage)]

The report says that a cardinal renewal of the work of local soviets is one of the most important tasks of the political reform implemented in the USSR. Mikhail Gorbachev said that one of the most important tasks of party organizations at the present stage of perestroyka is to do their utmost to help strengthen the independence of the soviets.

The speaker emphasised that the restoration of the full power of the soviets "in no way means the party's departure from its place in the political system of socialism." Recalling that it is the Soviet Communist Party which initiated perestroyka. Gorbachev said that the party alone is capable "of integrating within the uniform policy the diverse, at times contradictory social interests." At the same time he emphasized that a clear-cut division of the functions of party and soviet bodies is necessary so that the party and the soviets could effectively play their role in the political system.

The report points to the need to create a durable material and financial base for the soviets, to unblock their economic energy and enhance their responsibility for supplying the population with everything they need. "The rate of transition to self-financing of territories, use of the principles of cost-accounting and economically substantiated norms should be quickened," the speaker said. "Economists judge it possible to fix pay for natural and labour resources".

The Soviet leader emphasized the need to adopt a law on local self-government and local economy. He said that such a law is being formulated and should be discussed at a first session of the new Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

A radical renewal of the Soviet electoral system, this is how the speaker described the draft Law on the Election of People's Deputies of the USSR. The most important specific feature of the new election law is that it envisages the nomination of several candidates for one mandate.

The provision on the election of one third of people's deputies of the USSR from public organizations, the provision recorded in the draft law in accordance with the decision of the 19th party conference stimulated much discussion in the country. Dwelling on this matter in greater detail, the speaker pointed out that public organizations comprise practically the entire population of the country. They include the Soviet Communist Party with its membership of nearly 20 million, the Lenin Komsomol uniting 36 million young people, trade unions, which comprise actually all factory and office workers, cooperatives, women's councils, veteran workers' council, creative workers' unions. It is through public organizations, as well as through territorial and national- territorial districts that all Soviet citizens will be represented on government bodies, Mikhail Gorbachev said.

The current session of the Supreme Soviet will also initiate legal reform, Mikhail Gorbachev said. He said ensurance of the independence and immunity of judges, their ability to administer justice objectively and without bias is of fundamental importance. This is precisely the purpose of the supplements to three articles of the Constitution concerning the legal system.

The independence of the court is largely determined by the way in which it is formed. The Soviet leader recalled the published draft law which envisaged that district, city, regional and territorial courts will be elected by corresponding soviets of people's deputies. But this procedure has not been endorsed during nation-wide discussions. The majority were in favour of adopting what was envisaged by the 19th party conference, the election of people's judges by higher soviets.

Following the adoption of constitutional amendments and supplements related to juridical bodies, the endorsement of new fundamentals of legislation of the USSR and union republics on juridical administration in the USSR, the law on the status of judges and other acts will be on the order of the day. The work of all bodies called upon to protect laws, our democratic principles and institutions and the freedom and rights of the individual will be radically restructured on this basis.

We proceed from the view that an advance to a law-governed state should be accompanied by thorough-going renewal of all the main areas of legislation, the speaker said.

The adoption of the laws on the rights of trade unions, on youth, on voluntary societies and associations, on the press and other mass media, on glasnost in the activity of state bodies and public organizations are aimed at the consolidation of self-government of the people, the upgrading of the political system.

The strengthening of guarantees of the rights of the individual requires the upgrading of civil, labour, housing legislation, legislation on pensions, adoption of laws on the freedom of conscience, on the procedure of the discussion of proposals, statements and complaints of citizens, etc.

Noting that the bills were examined by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee at its plenum yesterday with account taken of the results of nation-wide debates on them, Gorbachev said the Central Committee's opinion is that "on the whole they meet the tasks of political reform mapped out by the 29th national conference of the CPSU."

"The steady progress on our political reform, whose most important element will be the decisions of the current session and later on the congress of people's deputies, shows a new democratic Soviet Union which has already been recognized as an important moral and political contributing factor to the improvement of international relations," Mikhail Gorbachev said in conclusion.

CPSU Central Committee 28 November Plenum

Three Members 'Removed'

PM2811204588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"—date, place not given]

[Text] A rountine plenum of the CPSU Central Committee took place today. The plenum examined the question: "On measures to implement political reform in the area of state construction." Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a report on this question.

Speaking in the debates on the report were: Vitaliy Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Vladimir Foteyev, first secretary of the Chechen-Ingush obkom; Marat Mendybayev, second secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee; Vasiliy Malykhin, leader of an electricians' team at the Volzhskiy 50th anniversary of the SSSR motor vehicle works, Kuybyshev oblast; Anatoliy Logunov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, rector of the Moscow Lomonosov State University; Yefrem Sokolov, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; Nikolay Konarev, USSR minister of railways.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made the concluding speech.

The plenum passed a resolution on the issue under discussion, which is being published in the press.

The plenum heard a report by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, "On the work for preparation of the draft concept for the economic and social development of the USSR for the period up to the year 2005." The plenum passed a resolution on this question, which is being published in the press.

The plenum affirmed the personnel composition of the commissions of the CPSU Central Committee for the main areas of internal and external policy, which were formed by the September (1988) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. A resolution was passed on this question.

An organizational matter was examined at the plenum. The plenum removed Inamzhon Usmankhodzhayev from membership of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ismail Dzhabarov and Akil Salimov from the candidate membership of the CPSU Central Committee as persons having compromised themselves.

Thereupon the CPSU Central Committee Plenum concluded its work.

Resolution on Party Commissions

PM2911093188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Text of "CPSU Central Committee Plenum Resolution" under the headline "On the CPSU Central Committee Commissions"—date, place not given]

[Text] 1. To confirm the commissions of the CPSU Central Committee as follows:

Commission for Questions of Party Building and Cadre Policy

G.P. Razumovskiy—chairman of the commission

Members of the commission:

V.I. Boldin—member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the general department of the CPSU Central Committee.

I.S. Boldyrev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Kraykom.

Z.I. Borovikova—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kurganinskiy CPSU raykom of Krasnodar kray.

A.N. Gerasimov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Gorkom.

V.V. Grigoryev—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Vitebsk Obkom of the Belorussian Communist Party.

V.I. Zorkaltsev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Tomsko CPSU Obkom.

V.A. Ivashko—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretray of the Dnepropetrovsk Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

M.A. Knyazyuk—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Ivanovo CPSU obkom.

N.Ye. Kruchina—member of the CPSU Central Committee and administrator of affairs of the CPSU Central Committee.

Yu.I. Lobov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the party committee of the D.F. Ustinov "Izhmash" production association, Udmurt ASR.

V.G. Lomonosov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the AUCCTU.

N.I. Malkov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Chita CPSU Obkom.

M.S. Mendybayev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

V.I. Mironenko—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

B.V. Nikolskiy—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

S.A. Niyazov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee.

B.K. Pugo—member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee.

Ye.Z. Razumov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy head of the department for party construction and cadres work of the CPSU Central Committee.

M.S. Smirtyukov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers.

L.N. Spiridonov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA.

Z.A. Stulpinene—member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and weaver from the Panevezhis "Linas" linen production association, Lithuanian SSR.

V.P. Tikhomirov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and lathe-operator and driller at the Moscow "Vladimir Ilich" electromechanical works.

G.I. Usmanov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Tatar CPSU Obkom.

V.S. Shevchenko—member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Ideological Commission

V.A. Medvedev—chairman of the commission

Members of the commission:

A.N. Aksenov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting.

V.G. Afanasyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA.

L.K. Balykova, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and a secondary school teacher from Omsk oblast.

A.A. Belyayev, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chief editor of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA.

Ya. Ya. Vagris, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

N.V. Gellert, member of the CPSU Central Committee and sovkhoz machine operator from Tselinograd oblast, Kazakh SSR.

A.T. Gonchar, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers.

Yu. N. Yelchenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

V.G. Zakharov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of culture.

T.G. Ivanova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

A.S. Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee ideological department.

Yu. S. Karabasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

V.V. Karpov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers.

V.A. Kuptsov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Vologda CPSU Obkom.

G.I. Marchuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

M.F. Nenashev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade.

D.I. Patiashvili, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Georgia Communist Party Central Committee.

G.L. Smirnov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee.

S.P. Tkachev, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and full member of the USSR Academy of Arts.

M.A. Ulyanov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chairman of the Board of the RSFSR Union of Theater Workers.

I.T. Frolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and aide to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

T.N. Khrennikov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Composers.

G.A. Yagodin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education.

R.G. Yanovskiy, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee.

Commission on Socioeconomic Policy

N.N. Slyunkov—chairman of the commission

Members of the commission:

V.G. Afonin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Kuybyshev obkom.

A.P. Biryukova, member of the CPSU Central Committee, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development.

Ye. A. Brakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and general director of the Moscow automobile works named after I.A. Likhachev

B.G. Vladimirov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee's EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA weekly.

A.V. Vlasov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Ye.A. Yeliseyev, candidate member of the CPSU Committee and first secretary of Kabardino-Balkar obkom.

G.V. Kolbin, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

V.G. Kolesnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of the USSR electronics industry.

A.M. Korolev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and team leader of lathe operators at the Uralsk heavy machine-building works named after S. Ordzhonikidze.

M.A. Korolev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics.

A.A. Malofeyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Minsk Obkom of the Belorussia Communist Party.

Yu. D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

A.G. Melnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Kemerovo obkom.

F.T. Morgun, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Protection.

Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Lvov Obkom of the Ukraine Communist Party.

V.T. Saykin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Moscow gorispolkom.

K.V. Frolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

V.Ya. Khodyrev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Leningrad gorispolkom.

Ye.I. Chazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of health.

S.A. Shalayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and AUCCTU chairman.

Commission on Questions of Agrarian Policy

Ye.K. Ligachev—chairman of the commission

V.P. Nikonov—deputy chairman of the commission

Members of the commission:

B.M. Volodin—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Rostov CPSU Obkom.

B.I. Gostev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of finances.

I.G. Grintsov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

S.K. Grossu—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

L.B. Yermin—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

V.I. Kalashnikov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom.

M.I. Klepikov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and team leader of an integrated team at the "Kuban" kolkhoz in Ust-Labinskiy rayon in Krasnodar kray.

A.N. Masaliyev—member of CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

V.K. Mesyats—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom.

D.K. Motornyy—member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the "S.M. Kirov" kolkhoz in Belozerskiy rayon, Kherson oblast.

V.S. Murakhovskiy—member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-industrial Committee.

N.A. Nazarbayev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

I.K. Polozkov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom.

A.F. Ponomarev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Obkom.

F.V. Popov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Altay CPSU Kraykom.

M.B. Ryzhikov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the AUCCTU and chairman of the Central Committee of the Agro-Industrial Workers' Trade Union.

V.V. Sakalauskas—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

I.I. Skiba—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the agrarian department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Ye.Ye. Sokolov—member of the CPSU Central Committe and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ye.S. Stroyev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Orel CPSU Obkom.

N.F. Tatarchuk—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kalinin CPSU Obkom.

Commission on Issues of International Policies

A.N. Yakovlev—chairman of the commission

Members of the commission:

G.A. Arbatov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the Institute of the USA and Canada of the USSR Academy of Sociences.

S.G. Arutyunyan—first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

S.F. Akhromeyev—Member of the CPSU Central Committee, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and first deputy USSR defense minister.

B.T. Batsanov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the Secretariat of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

A-R.Kh. Vezirov—first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

Ye.P. Velikhov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

V.I. Valjas—first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

V.M. Kamentsev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of ministers.

A.G. Kovalev—member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and first deputy USSR foreign minister.

V.A. Kryuchkov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Committee on State Security.

I.D. Laptev—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of IZVESTIYA.

P.K. Luchinskiy—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee.

Yu.A. Manayenkov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Lipetsk CPSU Obkom.

V.M. Nikiforov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs.

R.N. Nishanov—first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee.

G.V. Novozhilov—member of the CPSU Central Committee and general designer at the S.V. Ilyushin Moscow engineering works.

Ye.M. Primakov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

G.I. Revenko—member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Kiev Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

V.V. Tereshkova—member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

G.I. Ulanov—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Kaluga CPSU Obkom.

V.M. Falin—candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the international department of the CPSU Central Committee.

A.S. Chernyayev—member of the CPSU Central Committee and aide to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Commission on Legal Policy

V.M. Chebrikov, chairman of the commission

Members of the commission:

V.V. Bakatin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of internal affairs.

Yu.P. Batalin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

F.D. Bobkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB.

L.F. Bobykin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Sverdlovsk obkom.

A-M.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuania Communist Party Central Committee.

A.N. Girenko, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Crimean obkom of the Ukraine Communist Party.

V.A. Zatvornitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee and leader of an integrated team of Moscow Main Committee for Construction.

B.V. Kravtsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of justice.

A.D. Lizichev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy.

A.A. Logunov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

K. Makhkamov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee.

V.M. Mishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and AUCCTU secretary.

V.P. Mysnichenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Kharkov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom.

I.Kh. Romazan, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and director of the Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine named after V.I. Lenin.

N.F. Rubtsov, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chief of the Secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

V.I. Terebilov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Court.

M.I. Khaldeyev, member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chief editor of PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN magazine.

A.A. Khomyakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Saratov CPSU Obkom.

Ye.M. Chekharin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Ye.A. Shulyak, member of the CPSU Central Committee and press-forge operator from the Minsk "60th Anniversary of Great October" motor vehicle works.

2. The CPSU Central Committee plenum regards the formation of the Central Committee commissions as an important measure in implementing the directives of the 19th all-union party conference concerning full restoration of the Leninist principle of collective discussion and the adoption of decisions. The CPSU Central Committee commissions are called on to promote in every way the development of collectiveness of party leadership and the involvement of CPSU Central Committee members and candidate members, and of members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, in active work in the most important areas of domestic and foreign policy on a regular basis.

The CPSU Central Committee's commissions study the problems in their areas and draft proposals for the CPSU Central Committee on further improvement of the activities of party organizations and the implementation of the party's political directives and of the decisions of its congresses and conferences. They analyze the way in which party decisions are being carried out, make the preliminary studies on the most important issues of the life of the party and of the country, and weigh up the various options, involving to this end the party activists, leading scientists, specialists, public figures, people with innovative minds, and energetic participants in restructuring. According to the results of their studies, the commissions present draft documents and analytical material to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, including material for discussion at the latter's sessions or at a Central Committee plenum.

On instruction of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the commissions provide conclusions on draft decisions and other draft documents being put forward for partywide or nationwide discussion, and also on other basic issues of socioeconomic and social development.

The commissions may draft practical recommendations for party organizations and party committees concerning the content, forms and methods of work in implementing party decisions and concerning the organizational and ideological back-up for domestic political and international actions, and with the permission of the Central Committee Politburo may bring them before the party organizations.

3. The issues pertinent to the commissions are discussed collectively and settled at their sessions. Any member of a commission may display initiative by raising issues. Sessions of the commissions are held as required, but not less frequently than every 3 months. The commissions may form working groups and give instructions to individual members of the commission. The commissions rely in their work on the support of the relevant CPSU Central Committee departments, and on party scientific and training establishments.

The organizational and technical conditions for the functioning of the CPSU Central Committee's commissions are provided for by the General Department and by the Administration of Affairs of the CPSU Central Committee.

The work of the commissions is promptly covered in the press, and the documents are published in the IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS.

Resolution on Political Reform

PM2911094788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[Text of the 28 November "CPSU Central Committee Resolution on Measures for Implementing Political Reform in the Sphere of State Building"]

[Text] 1. The CPSU Central Committee notes that the USSR draft laws "Changes and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR" and "On Election of People's Deputies of the USSR," which have been refined with account taken of the results of the nationwide discussion of them, correspond to the tasks of the first stage of reform of the political system, and to the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Their adoption will signify a major step along the road of democratization of Soviet society, of provision of full authority for the soviets, and of the creation of a socialist law-governed state. The proposed changes in the structure and system of formation of the supreme representative organs of state power are creating the constitutional foundations for considerable improvement in legislative work, for the open, democratic conduct of state affairs, and for the resolution of the most important issues accounting for the various public interests, and they consolidate the legal guarantees against abuse of power and against authoritarianism. Conditions are being created for the effective democratic functioning of the highest echelon of power.

The nationwide discussion, which has proceeded with the active participation of citizens, work collectives, and public, scientific and other organizations, has shown that most Soviet people support the proposed renewal of the political system and has reflected the growth of public activity of all strata of the population. During the discussion there were many proposals on the key questions of state life, which must be thoroughly studied and used in further legislative and practical activity.

The CPSU Central Committee supports the amendments and refinements which are being entered in the draft laws as a result of the nationwide discussion, and

charges Comrade M.S. Gorbachev with making a report on the proposed political transformations at the extraordinary 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation.

2. The CPSU Central Committee stresses the great political significance of the forthcoming elections of the USSR people's deputies which are to ensure the formation of a congress of USSR people's deputies on the basis of the free expression of the electorate's will.

The opportunity which is opening up for broadly drawing millions of people into the active political process should be fully realized.

The fundamental question is the formation of a corps of deputies capable of worthily representing their electorate and actively upholding the interests of the people in the conditions of restructuring. It is important that among the deputy candidates there are more active Communists, komsomols and nonparty members from the ranks of the workers, kolkhozniks, and the intelligentsia who are able to relect both national and local interests and those of all the people and who occupy clear civic positions and are capable of state activity.

The election campaign needs to be organized in a new way, full account must be taken of the fact that on this occasion the elections will not be like all preceding ones, and that true competition among the candidates becomes a part of political life. The campaign should be conducted within the framework of socialist morals and on the principles of respect for the honor and dignity of each deputy-candidate and of the whole electorate, and it must become a genuine school of learning the culture of democracy. The mass media are called upon to promote this actively.

3. It is the task of party organizations to promote in every way the democratization of the election process. One must resolutely put an end to the practice of waiting for orders from above [raznaryadki] and overorganization, listen sympathetically to the opinions and the moods of people and act through force of conviction and example. The central committee of the union republic Communist Parties, kraykoms, and obkoms should radically improve agitation and propaganda work. The party's domestic and foreign policy and the course of restructuring should be clarified comprehensively and intelligibly, so that every Soviet person can have a deep understanding of the situation and purpose of the economic and political reforms being carried out. One should speak and defend the truth without avoiding acute issues and use skillfully active forms of explanatory work, including discussions. One should channel the growing political initiative of the population toward practical deeds and assert the understanding among people that only joint efforts, high performance at every workplace, and innovative and responsible approach in all sectors can solve the urgent problems of social development.

In this crucial period the duty of Communists is to enhance their vanguard role in society, consciously perform the voluntarily adopted duties following from the CPSU charter, and strengthen party and political work in all possible ways. Report-back and election conferences of the CPSU oblast and kray organizations should contribute to this goal.

The commissions of the CPSU Central Committee should be instructed to prepare an address of the CPSU Central Committee to the party and the Soviet people in connection with the elections of the USSR's people's deputies, in which the election platform of the CPSU and its program for the whole forthcoming period of activity of the supreme organ of the USSR's state power should be expounded.

4. The implementation of the tasks of the first stage of the reform of the political system ought to be accompanied by intensified work on its impending course: the tackling of the urgent problems of the Soviet federation, the reorganization of local authorities and management, and implementing the juridical and legal reform in full measure.

The tasks of steadfastly implementing the measures in the sphere of interethnic relations, approved by the party conference, of the fullest possible taking into account of both the specific interests of various nations and ethnic groups and of the tasks of preserving and consolidating one of the most important gains of the Great October—the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union—ought to occupy one of the most important places in the further work of party organizations. The preparatory work, aimed at making more precise some constitutional norms concerning the USSR's national and state system, acquires in connection with this a special significance. The party's course, aimed at expanding the rights of the union republics and autonomous formations and the goal of harmonizing the relations between the USSR and the republics ought to constitute the fundamental point of departure for this work. In this the constitutional principles of socialist federalism, of the equality of the rights of all the union republics and of the equality of citizens irrespective of their national allegiance ought to be observed in the strictest possible manner.

The Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee's commissions are instructed to intensify preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the questions of improving interethnic relations in the USSR, bearing in mind that all questions ought to be attentively examined with the participation of representatives of the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs.

The work connected with the implementation of political reform is to proceed from the fact that on the basis of a comprehensive discussion of opinions and of taking them into consideration and of coordination of interests

it is necessary and possible to work out a decision satisfactory to all on any question. There is here no room for hasty, unilateral actions, steps which guide the public opinion incorrectly. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the central committees of the union republics' Communist Parties are instructed to implement a complex of coordinated measures, aimed at rallying public forces to the ideas of restructuring, at reducing the social and political tension in individual republics and to ensure unity of actions for these purposes on the part of all CPSU organizations.

Resolution on Economic 'Concept'

PM2911093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee Plenum Resolution: "On the Work of Drafting a Concept for the USSR's Economic and Social Development for the Period Through 2005"]

[Text] 1. N.I. Ryzhkov's report "On the Work of Drafting a Concept for the USSR's Economic and Social Development for the Period Through 2005" is noted.

2. The USSR Council of Ministers is instructed to continue work on the draft concept, guided by the fundamental decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference on the social reorientation of the economy on the basis of its fundamental restructuring, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the consistent deepening of the economic reform under the conditions of the extensive democratization of all aspects of society's life.

Estonians Comment on USSR Leadership Meetings

On CPSU Central Committee Plenum

LD2811210888 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Juhan Virkus report from Moscow on CPSU plenum]

[Excerpts] Attending the CPSU Central Committee plenum from Estonia are Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; Estonian President Arnold Ryuytel; and (Helgi-Melanie) Koppel, head of the Karksi cattle-fattening farm. Koppel is a member of the CPSU Central Committee Auditing Commission. She says: The same spirit which was present at the session the day before yesterday, which was broadcast yesterday, has continued. [passage omitted].

The amendments and addendums to the present [USSR] Constitution were approved, and also the election law and of course, the illegal resolutions of our republic's government in respect of constitutional amendments [words indistinct]. And this was done, of course, very much out in the open; we were being called nationalistic and our undertakings were termed as being adventurist; and it was done in such an antidemocratic way. But one must also say that all the same, thanks to the initiative of our people, very many amendments and addendums have now been introduced into the draft Constitution. [passage omitted]

I would like to say to the people of our republic that there is no cause for worry. We do have a chosen path—the path of [words indistinct] and of restructuring—and we must continue along this path. I would only like to say that it is a difficult time for the leadership of our republic. The only aim for the workers of our republic can be good and peaceful work and only in this way can we prove what at the moment is not perhaps acceptable to other union republics. Comrade Vyalyas' thoughts—of course, it was hard for him to speak—but I would like to repeat what he said to the party plenum that we will go home as optimists and will continue to work. And I think that we all need this optimism, and first and foremost of course our leadership.

On Supreme Soviet Presidium

LD2811215188 Tallin Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Juri Hansen commentary]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] From brief conversations with some participants in the CPSU plenum the impression is of a businesslike and emotion-free discussion of political questions. It goes without saying that the situation in our republic was also discussed. It is felt from conversations that all union republics have their own problems and for that reason the attitude toward Estonia is one of understanding, which, however, does not mean approval of the resolutions of our 16 November Supreme Soviet session.

Of course, understanding or not, understanding depends on a person's outlook on his being informed, and on several other factors among which a sufficiently important place belongs to the actions of we ourselves. It is evident—and we sense it—that there is a great shortage of information between the republics. [passage omitted].

In the morning the Estonia train brought to Moscow yet another large number of delegates from our republic. (?The Rossiya hotel staff met us.) We asked each other about the news. The delegates had heard on the train the audio of the program on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. We, having seen it on television, had to admit there was some tendentiousness in relaying the events. This was spotted instantly by journalists and also by more competent television viewers in respect of a fairly suitable presentation which, at the same time, was serving a certain aim. The adjusting of the background information with the efforts of the program makers created a poor impression, especially to those who were more thoroughly informed about the proceedings of the session, let alone [words indistinct]. But let this remain on the conscience of those people who created this montage of pictures. [passage omitted]

The Presidium acknowledged that the resolutions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet were adopted in a certain situation which had evolved in the republic. This situation was the catalyst for movements which had emerged in the course of restructuring on the increase in political activity. [words indistinct] All our movements acquired a political coloring at once, and they all declare support for restructuring. If they indeed act in the name of a common aim, then consolidation should not present difficulties. However, has come from the consolidation and splitting up on the basis of nationality or language is unfortunately a fact. There has been no evidence of political wisdom for the purpose of overcoming the split or for building bridges.

It is strange and even painful to think that great success has been achieved in healing a split world but we cannot in any way manage to bring all of our problems under the same umbrella. But if we cannot manage this in our small republic, how can we then hope to be better understood elsewhere?

Further Reportage on Azerbaijan, Armenia

Baku Transport Rules Strengthened

LD2811124988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Decision No 5 of the military commandant of the Baku City Special District dated 27 Nov 1988]

[Text] On regulating the use of motor transport in the Baku City special district:

Requirements of the normative documents in the field of traffic safety are being violated in the [word indistinct] city by drivers of transport vehicles, these violations hamper the normal work of the country's transport and create road dangers to pedestrians and little children. Cars coming into the city of Baku are also creating (?unpleasant) situations. Drivers of [word indistinct] cars are coming into the city without the necessary (?documents) and spreading lies aimed at exacerbating the situation. In order to regulate the use of the city motor transport and to (?formalize) the arrival of automobiles coming from other cities, I order:

1. Other than times when the rayon is [word indistinct], city transport vehicles are prohibited from entering the city. Other transport vehicles, which are in the city are [words indistinct]. [name indistinct] is the chairman of the State Automobile (?statistics) of the Azerbaijan SSR Internal Affairs Ministry.

2. When Baku city vehicles' entry into the city is very urgent, the driver must submit a written request for the enterprise or organization leader to have the area commandants sign the road papers. Instructions on regulations concerning endorsement of road papers are to be given to the head of the special district headquarters.

3. [passage indistinct]

4. In accordacne with this, the head of the Baku city internal affairs department is to create 16 check points. Lieutenant General (?Petrov), first deputy head of the internal troops of the Internal Ministry, has the necessary (?power) to (?change) again the forces in the curfew areas in order to strengthen services in the task of checking.

5. Simultaneously with checking transport vehicles, entry to the city by all persons not registered for residence in the city of Baku will be stopped.

6. Major General Kalashnikov, [words indistinct] deputy head of the Baku City Special District Headquarters, is to organize mutual activity with the state (?motor transport) bodies of the Internal Ministry and carry out necessary conclusive work for strengthening work at check points and increasing forces and resources.

Colonel General [name indistinct], military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Baku Curfew Rules Strengthened

LD2811122588 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Decision No 6 of the military commandant of the Baku city special district dated 27 November 1988]

[Text] On the appointment of officials in Baku city special district:

In connection with increasing number of people asking military commandants for help [words indistinct] them. (?Shortcomings) have come about in the protection of public order in the Karabakh rayon. Social inefficiencies have been (?noticed) in control over entry and exit in administrative rayons of the city. All this requires increasing and strengthening the curfew rules.

I hereby order that:

1. The following be appointed heads of the curfew areas: area number one Maj Gen (Vitaliy viktorovich) Kozlov; area number three Col Aleksander Ivanovich [name indistinct]; area number four Maj Gen Vitaliy Vladimirovich Sokolov. The comrades appointed previously are relieved of these duties.

2. The number nine curfew area in the territory of the Karabakh rayon be recreated. [word indistinct] Admiral [name indistinct]. Forces [words indistinct] leave by the order of the commandant of the Red Banner Khazar Fleet.

3. Lieut Gen [name indistinct] be appointed deputy commandant of the Baku Special District.

[signed] Col Gen [name indistinct], military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

695 Held for Curfew Violations

NC2911105888 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Notice from the military commandant of the Baku city special district]

[Text] During the course of last night the situation in Baku city and its environs was on the whole calm.

But at the same time rumors continue to (?circulate) about hostile attitudes toward individual citizens. These are manifested by threats in the form of anonymous letters or telephone calls, and various slogans on apartments and houses. Certain citizens continue to violate the established curfew regulations. During the night 695 persons and 133 automobiles were detained. One firearm and 10 edged weapons were confiscated, and 22 persons have been arrested for illegal activities.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku city special district.

Commandant Appeals to Residents

NC2911093088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Notice by the military commandant of the Baku city special district:

Colonel General Tyagunov urges the residents of Baku to comply with security conditions and avoid situations which disrupt public order. The troops in the district are taking all measures required for safeguarding their security, honor, and [word indistinct].

Do not be led by the instigations of individual criminals, and do not believe rumors.

Reliable information will be given on the situation in the city three times a day as of 27 November, at 0700, 1500, and 2100.

I strongly believe that the residents of the city of traditional internationalism will comply with this. [passage indistinct].

[Signed] Col Gen Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku city special district, 26 November 1988

Commandant Calls for 'Restraint'

LD2811201688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Statement by the military commander of the Baku city special district; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: Thousands of Azerbaijani and Armenian residents are coming to me and the other area commanders and requesting that we bring their relatives in the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR. They also request to travel from Baku to Armenia and other rayons.

Many ask for information about the fate of their relatives in various rayons of Azerbaijan and Armenia. I have given orders to the military commanders of localities, airports, and railway stations to show all kinds of cooperation in every way and to help all citizens. Troops of the Baku city special district entrusted to me are reliably controlling the situation. They will not allow anyone to plot against the life of any Soviet person of any nationality, and when it is necessary they will use all powers and means at their disposal.

I request the citizens to show restraint. They must be sure that we will do anything possible, will examine every single request, and will not refrain from helping anyone. Those who are trying to find their relatives can call telephone number 39-43-09, and those who want to leave the city may call 92-64-19.

[Signed] Colonel General [name indistinct], military commandant of the Baku city special district

Commandant's Communique 28 Nov

LD2811144188 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Communique issued by military commandant of the special district of Baku City]

[Text] On 27 November the situation remained tense in the city of Baku. Illegal actions, measures, and dismissals from work without any basis were implemented against some people. Rumors and fabrications are being spread. There were about 10,000 people on Lenin Square. While the curfew is in force many citizens are staying away from homes, and these people are violating the rules of the special situation. On the night of 27 to 28 November 867 people were detained. Of these 18 were imprisoned. Two weapons were confiscated. Workers of the [name indistinct] works of Baku—[name indistinct] Akhmad Asadulla Ogly Asadullayev, and Shakhin Kamal Ogly (Baryarov), were arrested while writing documents of a [word indistinct] nature In Lenin square. [word indistinct] Guseyn Dilavar Ogly (Feragev) a resident of (?Mataly) rayon, was brought to account for having kept (?explosives).

In mines of Lenin rayon cases of anti-Soviet documents were discovered. [word indistinct] people there, had cut 350 horizontal belts of oil cranes. The population of the city continues to voluntarily hand in weapons. In one day 95 [word indistinct] and 12 knives were removed.

[signed] Col Gen [name indistinct], military commandant of the special district of Baku city.

Activist, Military Curbs Cited

PM2611202788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent R. Lynev, A. Stepovoy dispatch: "Conversation in the Square"]

[Text] Baku—The events of the past few days in Baku have produced their leaders. People hang on their every word, people believe them. We noticed that a young man appears on the rostrum more often than others and that he gets a special welcome from the crowd. "Who is that?" we asked. We were told: "Vetan-ogly." That means "son of the people." This is how people in Baku refer to Nemat Panakhov, a lathe operator at the plant named for Lieutenant Shmidt. He only has to raise his hand, and complete silence descends on the square. It is true that we also heard people say: "He is a stooge, a mouthpiece for other people's views." But is is true that people hang on his every word...

We met with Nemat Panakhov, who told us briefly about himself: "I am 26, a worker from a working-class family. Education: 10 grades; the rest I taught myself. I have served in the Army and live in a hostel."

What raised a man with this sort of background above hundreds of thousands of people? Two years ago he became the leader of a committee to promote restructuring at his plant. "And when on 17 November I heard that students and young workers had spontaneously gathered in the square," he recounts, "I made my way here. Many people recognized me and demanded that I speak. I climbed onto the rostrum..."

[Correspondents] Why do you speak on behalf of everyone?

[Panakhov] Because I know what brought people to the square.

[Correspondents] What is it?

[Panakhov] They want all-union laws to be implemented. In July the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium confirmed that the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is an integral part of Soviet Azerbaijan. A program for the socioeconomic development of the oblast was adopted. Hundreds of millions of rubles were allocated for this purpose. However, in practice neither the decision nor the program are being implemented. While remaining part of Azerbaijan de jure, Stepanakert has in actual fact severed all ties with Azerbaijan SSR republic organs. This looks like a challenge...

[Correspondents] Is this the reason for the strikes and rallies?

[Panakhov] The reason is the passiveness of the authorities, both the republic and union authorities. This is what has brought people to the square.

[Correspondents] What is going to happen? Is this not fraught with the threat of another Sumgait?

[Panakhov] I will say this about Sumgait: It is a disgrace and a pain for the Azerbaijani people. But it must also be said that the Sumgait tragedy has provided the ground for kindling anti-Azerbaijani passions. Attempts are being made to present us as the continuers of the 1915 genocide. To revive fear and hatred? Why? To instill them in future generations?

[Correspondents] Then what is your explanation for the appearance in the square of the green flag and Khomeyni's portrait, which we saw?

[Panakhov] Yes, that did happen. But those are minor details, and we resolutely condemn them. That isn't happening any longer.

[Correspondents] But something else remains—the anti-Armenian slogan.

[Panakhov] I have not seen it.

[Correspondents] We have.

[Panakhov] I promise you that it will not happen again. Our movement, and I would like to emphasize this especially, is not anti-Armenian, or anti-Soviet, or anti-socialist.

[Correspondents] What is it, then?

[Panakhov] We support the principles of democracy, glasnost, and respect for the law which have been put forward by restructuring.

[Correspondents] How do you explain the presence above the rostrum of the portrait of Akhmedov, who was condemned for the crimes in Sumgait?

[Panakhov] I assure you that it is by no means an attempt to justify what has happened but only a protest against the fact that the culprits are not being tried at the site of the crime, in the republic as laid down by the law, but rather in Moscow. Frankly speaking, I can only ascribe this kind of distrust in our courts to pressure from Armenia...

[Correspondents] Are you not discounting that this might be based on a desire to avoid pressure from any side? After all, Armenians in Baku, if we are honest, are subjected to such pressure. It is known, for instance, that there have been incidents where buses have been stopped with the demand "Armenians out..."

[Panakhov] I admit that there have been such episodes. But I assure you, this does not amount to a threat of reprisals.

[Correspondents] Is the order "Get out" perhaps not a reprisal?

[Panakhov] In 10 days of rallies there has not been a single instance of physical violence. Don't believe me; check with the bulletins of the organs for the protection of public order. I see this as the result not only of the efforts of the employees of these organs but also of our appeals for restraint and calm. As yet we are being heeded...

[Correspondents] But only Azerbaijani speech has been heard from the rostrum.

[Panakhov] Speak in Russian if you want. Incidentally, there are considerable numbers of people of other nationalities in the square.

[Correspondents] And Armenians? There are roughly 200,000 of them in Baku.

[Panakhov] We are prepared to allow them to speak. No problem.

[Correspondents] Five of the rally participants are conducting a hunger strike protest. It has been going on for several days. Is this not provocative?

[Panakhov] We are trying to persuade them to stop, because it could have a dramatic ending. They say: We'll stop when the tanks are pulled out of the city. For myself I would say: The tanks upset a lot of people. Believe me, they are not needed in Baku.

[Correspondents] And Kirovabad?

[Panakhov] I'm only responsible for Baku.

[Correspondents] What in your view could placate the protesters?

[Panakhov] First, it is necessary to adopt a compromise decision and create an autonomous formation, analogous to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, for Azerbaijanis living in Armenia—and there are no fewer of them than there are Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. That would be just. Second. The criminal cases involving those involved in the Sumgait tragedy that have been transferred to other courts should be sent back to the republic for examination. Third. Azerbaijani refugees from Nagorno-Karabakh must be ensured the conditions for returning to a normal life. [Panakhov concludes]

That in brief is a transcript of our conversation with Nemat Panakhov. Experience shows that informal leaders can exert a real influence on the mood of those gathered at rallies although, as his answers show, a great deal seems extremely simple to him. Too simple. This cannot be disregarded.

Today, 27 November, the republic morning newspapers published the orders of Colonel General M. Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District. As of 26 November military commandants' offices have been opened in the premises of the ispolkoms of eight rayon soviets. The rayon military commandant's offices have been given the duty of issuing passes for all citizens and means of transport, and hours when citizens can be received have been established. Military commandants' offices have been set up at the airport terminal, the central railroad station, the city subway, the bus station, and the telephone exchange.

On 26 November there was an extraordinary Baku Gorkom plenum at which the situation which has developed in the capital of the republic was discussed. The plenum was addressed by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

War and labor veterans have appealed to the inhabitants of the city and young people. They urged everyone to display civic and political maturity, to go to work and school [ucheba], and to observe public order.

Public transport in Baku is operating normally.

Students' Threats Halt Workers

PM2911102188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA special correspondents R. Lynev and A. Stepovoy report under the general heading "Yesterday, 28 November": "Baku"]

[Text] Today we visited the plant named for Lieutenant Shmidt, where, incidentally, N. Panakhov, one of the main speakers on the square, works (IZVESTIYA has already published a brief conversation with him). People stopped us at the entrance to find out who we were and the reason for our visit. It turned out that these were representatives of the plant organizations charged with preventing strangers from infiltrating the premises. In the last few days, R. Dzhabbarov, secretary of the plant party committee, and his deputy N. Uterskiy explained to us, Baku VUZ students had been coming to the plant to try to persuade the workers that there was only one way to solve the Karabakh issue—through strikes. Threats had been employed, what's more...

The plant (barring management and certain shops) has not been operational for 10 days now. It produces oil-spouter equipment which is acutely needed by Siberia's oilmen. Real losses have already reached R4.5 million. N. Panakhov's bench is among those left idle.

The party committee secretary told us:

"People want to work but are unable to do so today."

Fitter and repair worker Ali Gusseynov does not go to the rallies. He appears at the workshop early every morning, but there's no work. What work can there be if the other production has come to a standstill? So he can't count on wages. But he has two children. What have they done to deserve this? But adults' disputes reflect on children. So whereas Ali Gusseynov's son, who is in the fifth grade, is attending school right now, his Armenian classmates are not.

The Narimanovskiy party Raykom and Rayispolkom building has the air of a military headquarters. The military are dealing with routine questions and receiving citizens. Major A. Kozyaychev heads a kind of complaints bureau. The working day runs from 0500 to 2200, and the telephone never stops ringing.

"There are two main questions now," the major said. "Mass dismissals of Armenians, and inquiries as to how to leave the city, mainly en route for Yerevan and Rostov. If people are dismissed illegally (and there are many such cases), we restore order right away."

There is another human flood—away from Armenia. At the duty officer's door we met the Tagiyev family, who have hastily abandoned all their belongings and come here from Kafanskiy Rayon in the Armenian SSR. The Tagiyev's four small daughters are not attending school or kindergarten either. Everything was left in Kafan.

What is in store for them here?

Commission Meets on Refugees

NC2911094188 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 29 Nov 88

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The papers report that the regular session of the republican commission for work among persons of Azerbaijani nationality who have arrived from the Armenian SSR examined the tasks for fulfilling Decree No 422 of the Azerbaijani Council of Ministers, dated 26 November 1988, concerning measures for accommodating in the repubic persons of Azerbaijani nationality who have arrived from the Armenian SSR.

Nakhichevan, Kirovabad Incidents

PM2611171088 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Our correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar report: "Situation Remains Tense: Our Correspondent Reports From Transcaucasia"]

[Text] The telephones are ringing constantly at the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's office—both local and intercity. People ask: What is happening in Azerbaijan and Armenia at the moment, what is the situation in Tbilisi? They ask with a concern and anxiety that are natural and understandable. We are one country, one people. And the responsibility for everything that happens in any region, for our future, for the fate of restructuring is also common to us all.

So how can these difficult questions be answered? Events developed as follows. First there were rallies and noisy debates in the streets and squares. In many Transcaucasian cities. We have already grown accustomed to such manifestations of people's increased political activeness, and we see it as a kind of sign of the times. But, as has happened before, extremist elements took advantage of the situation. For their own ends, naturally, selfish ends that are hostile to restructuring. In several places there were clashes between persons of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality, strike calls rang out, and there were violent actions that drastically hampered the work of transportation, educational institutions, the health care system, and enterprises.

In Nakhichevan, in particular, as a result of mass disorders the party obkom building was damaged. Extremists set fire to a bus and damaged much other equipment. A curfew has been imposed in the city.

Serious incidents were provoked by extremists in Kirovabad. At approximately 1600 hours on 22 November hooligan elements surrounded the party gorkom and committed outrages. Gorkom department chief Yu. Pasha-zade, on behalf of the first secretary, appealed for help. When servicemen formed a cordon near the bridge over the river Gyandzhachay, which divides regions predominantly inhabited by the Azerbaijani and the Armenian population, they were subjected to insults and threats. Then stones began to fly. Someone in the crowd threw a grenade. A truck was driven at the cordon. Lieutenant Boris Mikhaylovich Gusev and Privates Anatoliy Nikolayevich Kosenko and Oleg Anatolyevich Yurchenko died while doing their duty. Others were wounded. In the course of the night small groups of youths tried to set fire to houses and cars in various parts of the city.

"The situation has not cooled down in subsequent days," Major General V. Omelchenko reports. "More than 70 attempts to perpetrate pogroms in the houses and apartments of the Armenian population have been recorded. The local party and soviet organs are not fully in control

of the situation. As has happened before, the local militia is inactive. A large and serious burden was placed on the servicemen's shoulders. In emergency conditions they acted selflessly in defense of law and order. With the help of senior officials of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, we managed to convene the leaders of the city's enterprises for a conference and to set up workers' volunteer militias. Now they too, together with servicemen, are patrolling the streets. More than 150 people have been arrested for violating law and order and several firearms have been confiscated."

It must also be said that the instigators of the disorders, the provocateurs, are again, as before, trying to distort the true nature of events, cast aspersions on our servicemen by means of various kinds of lies, and discredit their mission in this emergency situation. One cannot find up-to-date and reliable information on the development of events in the republican or even the central mass media.

The situation remains very complex in Yerevan and Baku. It is alarming in Stepanakert and Azerbaijan's Agdamskiy Rayon, where a curfew is in force and industrial enterprises are not working. Rumors that could exacerbate the already tense situation are being spread, often purposefully and deliberately. Here too weapons are being confiscated from persons of both Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality.

Kirovabad Killings Detailed

PM2911112988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Nov 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga as part of feature under the general heading: "To Display the Greatest Responsibility"]

[Text] Kirovabad—Guards Private First Class A. Batyrov had good reason to be happy. In the morning Platoon Commander Guards Lieutenant B. Gusev had reported: Your service is at an end, and you can get ready to travel. "Give our regards to sunny Uzbekistan"—his comrades had congratulated him. The soldier had no idea what this day would really be like for him.

At noon the company rushed to a bridge on the Gyandzhachay River. Nationalist elements had inflamed the situation in the city to an extreme. A barrier was needed on the river which divides the districts where Azerbaijanis and Armenians live. "Defend law and order"—this was the task. And each of the officers deemed it necessary repeatedly to remind the men: "Show restraint and keep calm. Be polite and attentive to the population."

They reached the bridge in time. They managed to push back the rampaging crowd. But then a combat vehicle burst into flames. A hail of stones rained down on the driver who was trying to extinguish the flames. Rushing to help him, Batyrov and his more junior comrades failed to notice that a truck was bearing down on them from the rear. Batyrov was the first to sense the danger, and he managed to push two young soldiers aside. He failed to save himself and fell under the wheels.

A ZIL with frenzied people behind the windshield was already rushing from the other side. Guards Lieutenant V. Popov, company deputy commander for political affairs, managed to leap onto the footboard and, dodging a blow from a knife, tugged at the steering wheel. The vehicle ran into a tree.

Extremists were throwing bottles containing acid and an incendiary mixture. Someone threw a grenade from the crowd, and fragments from it injured several servicemen.

The driver of a bus parked nearby hysterically refused to take the injured people to the nearest hospital. And when they were, nonetheless, taken there... Company Commander Guards Senior Lieutenant R. Stepanenko cannot speak of this calmly: Spasms in his throat prevent him. In the end, military medics had to save the victims. But it was not possible to save Guards Lt B. Gusev and Guards Privates O. Yurchenko and A. Kosenko. Guards Pvt 1st Class A. Batyrov is in intensive care.

I asked: What lies behind these tragic events? Emotions? The ungovernability of a crowd inflamed by extremists? Oh no! Such a simple explanation would be far from the truth.

"Political opponents of restructuring, adventurists, and leaders of the so-called 'shadow economy' are behind those who throw cobblestones," T. Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, said in conversation. "Therefore we must not count on a quick and easy victory."

Yes. It is not hard for an observant person or an analyst to discern a prewritten scenario behind the outwardly spontaneous and unpredictable events. A scenario in which the writers' true aims are masked by slogans referring to "an infringement of democracy" and the need to "defend restructuring" and are concealed in a nationalist, religious packaging. Those whom real restructuring threatens to expose are seeking to divert attention from themselves by destabilizing public life and to substitute anarchy for legality and law and order. Only a politically immature person will not see that the present public excesses are, figuratively speaking, rearguard battles of the stagnation period and manifestations of an old disease that has been driven deep inside society.

...A special situation has been introduced in Kirovabad. For many people the concept of "curfew" evidently embodies calm ensured by unusual means. But how short of cooperation with local militia organs and the party aktiv servicemen find themselves during these uneasy days! How hard it is to set it up. People tried to convince me that party activists patrol side by side with

servicemen. But I failed to meet with a single one. Nor did I see any militia at the posts. The extremists have organized things differently.

Yesterday, 28 November, the situation in Kirovabad was relatively calm. The introduction of the special situation has made a considerable contribution to this. But the extremists are seeking a loophole.

"A large group of instigators," Colonel V. Sorokin said, "has gone to the population center of Khanlar, 5 km from Kirovabad. It is being contained by the militia. The extremists had evidently hoped also to attract military subunits."

I asked Azerbaijan People's Poet Bakhtyr Vakhabzade, who has traveled to Kirovabad at this bitter time, what feelings he has.

"Pain, bewilderment, and shame," he replied.

Press Reports Highlighted

NC2711093888 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0447 GMT 27 Nov 88

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The papers publish the appeal from war and labor veterans to the citizens and youth of Baku City. Supporting the demands of meetings in Baku and the republic's rayons for stabilizing the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and for calling to account the oblast's leaders, the veterans are deeply perturbed and filled with indignation like everyone else about the treatment of people of Azerbaijani nationality both in the autonomous oblast and in neighboring Armenia.

There can be no reconciliation with manifestations of blackmail and coercion that lead to people's being forced to leave the home of their fathers. In their appeal the veterans call on everyone to display civic and political maturity and a high sense of duty, responsibility, and discipline, and also to display calmness and prudence and not to demolish the foundations of good neighborliness and friendship among all peoples and nationalities living in Azerbaijan.

In these disturbed days, quite a few women are among the participants in the Lenin Square meeting. Uneasy over the way things have developed and feeling alarm for their sons, they have, on their own initiative and (?wholeheartedly), formed the "Ana"—mother—organization. With maternal kindness and feminine words they come to the square where people have already been for 10 days showing determination and categorically promoting demands to the government and the leaders of the republican party organization. This is all reported by BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in a report entitled "A Woman's Word, A Mother's Word."

The paper also carried editorial replies to readers' questions on the subject of events in NKAO and around it.

Far from everyone can get to Lenin Square. This includes those who are busy producing in an uninterupted cycle of work yet fully support the just demands of the people. This is the story in a report from the Baku oil refinery named after the 22d CPSU session published in VYSHKA under the title "I Want To Believe." The papers publish the AZERINFORM report that during the day on 26 November all equipment, including cranes, tractors, trucks, and other machinery was removed with the help of military units from the construction project in the Tophana locality. It is planned to remove all building materials on 27 November. Then the land will have to be restored and the soil recultivated. It will take years to heal the wounds inflicted on nature.

Let us once again return to the situation in Baku: It is controlled by the orders of the military commandant of the special district of Baku City, Colonel General (?Tigunov). These orders are published in today's papers together with notices from the Azerbaijani MVD.

We would like to add that notices from the military commandant on the situation in Baku will as of today be broadcast by the republican radio at 0700, 1400 and 2100 hours [0300, 1000, and 1700 GMT].

DPA Rounds Up Situation

LD2511144288 Hamburg DPA in German 1318 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Excerpts] According to official information, after the renewed flare-up of unrest concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic of Azerbaijan, the authorities imposed a curfew on the Armenian capital of Yerevan as an additional precautionary measure. An Armenian Foreign Ministry spokesman this afternoon also confirmed a report that the republican Supreme Soviet last night had reasserted its June demand for the reintegration of the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region into Armenia.

Thus the conflict over the region, which has a majority Armenian population, reached a new peak, as the positions of the two republics remain irreconcilably opposed. The Armenian Foreign Ministry confirmed in a telephone conversation with DPA in Moscow that all of Yerevan's major squares had been cordoned off by troops in armored personnel carriers. Helicopters were circling over the city in support. Some of the city's factories were on strike. The situation was tense, but calm.

In the Yerevan theater yesterday evening, the Armenian Supreme Soviet (parliament) continued its session, which had been interrupted a few days ago by clashes between Azeris and Armenians in Azerbaijan. In spite of

the imposition of the curfew, thousands of people assembled in Theater Square to follow the parliament session via loudspeaker, it was reported from Yerevan.

According to information available in Moscow, the Armenian parliament passed four resolutions. [passage omitted]

It was not clear today whether and in what form the resolutions would be recognized. Among other things, reports from Yerevan also say that the Supreme Soviet, with 226 delegates, constituted a quorum, but that the government had not taken part in this session.

Yesterday refugees reported anti-Armenian excesses in Azerbaijan and in the Azerbaijan exclave of Nakhichevan. An Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry spokesman in Baku told DPA this morning that these reports were lies and "pure provocation." This afternoon he gave assurances that the situation had not changed from that of the past few days. Troops were concentrated in the city.

Despite the presence of troops and the night curfew, demonstrations and rallies were allowed in Baku, he said. The people were continuing to demand an end to the autonomous status of Nagorno-Karabakh and the fully legal incorporation of the area into Azerbaijan. They also were demanding that all the Sumgait trials be amalgamated and held in their republic. A week ago, the USSR Supreme Court in Moscow passed the first death sentence on an Azerbaijani ringleader. [passage omitted]

Vezirov at 26 Nov Baku Plenum

NC2811130088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0700 GMT 27 Nov 88

[Report on Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Abdul Rakhman Vezirov's address to the Baku Gorkom Plenum on 26 November 1988—read by announcer, monitored in progress]

[Text] [passage indistinct] We shall do everything possible in the future to employ the means to activate the masses' participation in the management of our society's affairs. It is only in this way that we can actually realize reconstruction. Our republic's leadership frequently comes in touch with all types of our people. We attentively hear the views they propose in connection with the documents drawn up for the social, economic, and moral development of the republic and, naturally, its capital. We also take into consideration their proposals.

We have drawn up valid plans in connection with the problems of Azerbaijan's people related to their history, language, and traditions, and the question of housing, including improving our people's living conditions, and other matters concerning maintaining the principles of social justice in the republic. You are well aware of these and other decisions.

However, the problems which have been created in the republic and close to its borders by the extremist forces and those who are opposed to the course of reconstruction have disturbed us and thousands of people in Baku and in other cities and rayons. I am thinking about the pitiful situation of the Azerbaijanis who have been forced to leave their jobs and homes in the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. [NKAO] The republic's Council of Ministers has adopted a decision in connection with the measures required to create normal conditions for the people. This decision will be published in the press. Land will be provided to those who decide to live in rural rayons, and loans will be made available to them. They will be further helped in order to enable them to live a normal life. We are always concerned with the problem.

Other measures are being taken to maintain the safety of the Azerbaijanis who live in the Armenian SSR. The second problem which has aroused concern the republic's workers and disturbed the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Baku Gorkom is related to the irresponsible statements in Yerevan's Theater Square and the illegal activities of the NKAO leadership.

You are aware of the provocative activities in Tophana and other places. We are taking all measures required to remove the results of these activities. Pertinent decisions have been adopted, and much work has been carried out to develop a number of towns, (?the standard of which have been at a low level) for many years. Nevertheless, I would like to say in particular that certain forces are not contributing toward this [word indistinct] activity. On the contrary, they are obstructing it. One of their representatives is Comrade Pogosyan, Chairman of the NKAO Obkom. In view of this, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee believes that Pogosyan's stand is inauspicious. We have informed the CPSU Central Committee of the matter and urged it to consider the question.

I wish to point out that our country's leadership feels uneasy about the situation. In view of this, Mikhail Gorbachev has invited me to Moscow to discuss ways to normalize the situation in as short a time as possible. At our request, Mikhail Gorbachev will hold talks with our republic's deputies in the USSR Supreme Soviet. We should prepare well for this meeting in order to be able to inform the country's leadership of the rights, and [word indistinct] of our people and of whatever has caused them anxiety and made them feel uneasy, and of practical proposals for settling the current problems.

We have always maintained an internationalist position, and we will continue to do so. (?We support) security, friendship, and mutual agreement between our peoples. Neither the Azerbaijanis nor the Armenian people are responsible for this situation. Responsibility lies with the provocateurs and forces which try to (?further) the

problems which have been rejected by the people. Trifling with the people's feelings and exploiting democratization and openness, they are trying to create dissent and sow the seeds of interethnic discord. We are resolved not to allow this trend in developments. [passage indistinct] We shall endeavor to restore the friendly relations which are characteristic of the people of Azerbaijan. [passage indistinct]

The main fact which emerged from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting on 18 July is that territorial changes in our republic are not being contemplated. NKAO has been, and will continue to be, within the framework of Azerbaijan SSR. However, there are individuals who are inclined to spread rumors and fabrications. They are clearly opposed to this accurate and sensible decision, which serves the lofty interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and the State. However, we have not, and we will not, reverse our direction.

We always keep the CPSU Central Committee posted on all matters which disturb our republic's Communists and workers. We adopted relevant decisions on the basis of the practical and useful suggestions proposed by our comrades. We shall explain these decisions in detail during the talks we shall have with our country's leadership.

You are aware of the amount of work the republic's leadership carries out to realize the principles of social justice. We are carrying out work to enable our people to have a meritorious life and to upgrade their welfare. We wish to do even more in that regard. We are grateful to all those who have sent letters and proposals to us and who have come to the Central Committee to offer their assistance for realizing the policy pursued by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. These appeals and proposals are of particular importance during such difficult times. Obviously, the people have been disturbed by the dangerous worsening of the situation.

Communist comrades, it is true that the situation may lead to serious results. Meetings have been held in Baku and elsewhere in the republic for so many days now. In general, they are of great importance. Nevertheless, many criminal elements have been very active under the influence of certain forces. Crimes have been committed in a number of the republic's cities and rayons. Many people have been wounded. And, there have been deaths.

I must tell you that we have information in hand in connection with the forces and organizations which have given direction to criminal activities. [words indistinct] These forces have been creating obstacles for us and preventing the realization of the many proposals that have been put forward by the people.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the Central Committee Secretariat have been receiving many letters, particularly on the situation in NKAO, every day. We acquaint ourselves very carefully with all the letters, telegrams, and records. Many proposals are genuine and practical and the Central Committee Bureau immediately takes them into consideration and adopts relevant decisions. Those which serve the people and those which are useful for our republic and reconstruction work have to be read carefully and considered for action. This also applies to the Baku gorkom and gorispolkom.

We have extensively used the views and proposals which were included in the letters sent to us and in the materials from the plenums held by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, including the recent plenum which discussed the housing problem in the republic. It is common knowledge that the main directions for the work to be carried out to increase the pace of housing construction, which have been published in the newspapers, have been widely debated by the people. [passage indistinct]

The support of the republic's workers for the policy pursued by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee is a source of contentment. This has been voiced in many meetings. However, the discussion obviously concerns developments related to NKAO.

The incidents are creating emotional feelings. Nevertheless, ecstasy has gone beyond limits. I would like to tell you that we are keeping the situation under control. We have all the means required to prevent developments from taking a dangerous turn. I would like to reiterate that very correct remarks have been made, and very correct proposals have been put forward during the meetings. Nevertheless, provocations have been (?at the same level). Calls and slogans, which are completely incompatible with the Azerbaijan people's internationalist nature, have been heard. We cannot, and will not, agree with those who provoke the people to resist and who urge them to oppose interethnic justice. The Azerbaijanis have been known as a people who have succeeded in living in a friendly way with the other peoples of the country. [passage indistinct]

We cannot allow the plans drawn up by the NKAO Krunk Movement and other lawless organizations to be realized. We have strong self-control and a strong sense of internationalism. We are strong in our sincere friendship with the great Russian [as heard] and Soviet peoples and in our loyalty toward the lofty interests of our state. We shall always remain as such. Nevertheless, there are individuals who wish to disrupt peace and create obstacles on the reconstruction course. In meetings, convocations, and letters, the people have called on the republic's leadership not to deviate from the struggle for reconstruction and social justice and for the realization of the housing plans, the development of the people's health, and the improvement of the people's welfare. In view of this, I urge the republic's workers, particularly the residents of Baku, to remain calm, [word indistinct], and

patient. I urge the republic's Communists and all the steadfast forces to (?obstruct the direction of the) hooligans and criminal elements.

Patience, patriotism, and [word indistinct] are essential requirements for resolving all the problems, including those related to NKAO. We must do everything possible so that our republic's sovereign [words indistinct]. We must do everything possible so that peace and security can be established in NKAO and the decision adopted in connection with NKAO can be realized. We must do everything possible so that the decisions adopted for the socioeconomic development of all the rayons in NKAO, including all the rayons in the republic and [word indistinct] and Sumgait, can be fulfilled.

Time is required to realize all measures contemplated. I know well that the people feel exhausted by the infamous behavior and by the tasks which have accumulated over many years. However, I would like to say that I wish all this could be removed today. [words indistinct] requires a significant effort, in which each and every aktiv must participate. [words indistinct] We must not allow the enemies of reconstruction to rejoice.

Shatalin Interviewed on NKAO

PM2511170688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General Yu.V. Shatalin, chief of the Main Directorate of Internal Forces, by unidentified interviewer: "Order Is Order"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Interviewer] Yuriy Vasilyevich, the events connected with the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] have been a difficult test for the internal forces. The spring, summer, and fall—now nearing its end—of this year in NKAO, Azerbaijan as a whole, and Armenia have been marked by events that are complex and sometimes extremely tragic, as in Sumgait and Agdam; and today the situation in these regions is very, very complex.

[Shatalin] Yes, the situation is difficult, or rather, strained. This is indicated by the fact that a special situation was imposed in a number of Azerbaijani cities the other day and that a curfew is in force. Moreover, in Kirovabad servicemen from a subunit tasked with protecting order suffered casualties; three of them died. In short, certain people again succeeded in achieving their goal—that of whipping up the situation.

[Interviewer] All these months certain "leaders" have been instilling in people's minds the view that your subunits' main task is to thwart restructuring and democratization...

[Shatalin] I am certain that sensible people are very well aware that the purpose of the subunits' presence is solely to protect the honor, dignity, and lives of citizens. Events show that antirestructuring forces, political adventurers, and nationalist elements use a comparatively wide arsenal of provocative means—from "restructuring" slogans to slogans calling for reprisals. But the most difficult thing is to localize conflicts that arise according to a well-thought-out, carefully prescribed scenario. As for the "stifling of democracy" that the "heralds of restructuring" talk about, this is an outright lie. There has been no instance of troops intervening in debates or demanding the removal of particular slogans....

If we reconstruct chronologically the metamorphosis of these slogans and calls, it becomes quite obvious that the process of whipping up passions was on the increase. "Sumgait was Moscow's doing," "Moscow is behind the Sumgait butchers"... Insults against party leaders, against the leaders of the neighboring republic... I am profoundly confident that the greater part of the people who marched in columns alongside these slogans in Yerevan to the tune of provocative shouts do not agree with them and are pained by events of an antidemocratic nature.

The tone of the slogans and calls heard in recent days at rallies in Azerbaijan have also changed perceptibly for the worse. It would be extremely unjust not to say that there have also been words of common sense and wisdom, but the emotional wave swamped much of this. Provocative, inflammatory appeals are by no means a democratic method of conducting a debate, a method in keeping with restructuring. Still less are the attacks on militia subunits which have occurred in certain regions. In this respect everything that is happening requires the most serious thought and concrete action.

The servicemen are showing restraint. But at the places where they are stationed, after various events, our commanding officers have sometimes been forced to remain silent and not answer the soldiers' questions, because a young lieutenant cannot immediately answer this question: "Why were the provocateurs not seized by the local people, their neighbors—whoever was present? Why did the party organizations and local militia subunits choose to adopt the position of observers? This invariably leads to increasingly heated passions and more serious incidents."

The whole point is that while verbally preaching the struggle for restructuring and democracy, a number of people, making use of national feelings, are pushing society onto a path of destabilization, nationalism, and anarchy. As a result, the blood of innocent people is inevitably shed.

[Interviewer] And today your units are losing men. Hundreds of people, especially mothers whose sons serve in your forces, are worried about what is happening. The telephones at the editorial office never stop ringing with demands for "order to be imposed"... There was a rumor that "ethnic problems" have also arisen in your units' international collectives. Is this true?

[Shatalin] Let me begin with your last question. That is an outright lie. There has been no incident in the internal forces on national, interethnic grounds. The preservation of order is carried out by collectives that number in their ranks people of 20 nationalities—including Armenians and Azerbaijanis, who serve (and serve very well!) side by side—and not a single incident. As for the situation, obviously the specific nature of service and sharing in difficult military labor is inconceivable to an outsider: The soldier is better placed than others to perceive everything more clearly, he sees the essence, the core of events; because of his sense of being responsible for other people's fate he sees who benefits from all this. As difficult as this kind of service is, it is a school of political struggle. Incidentally, solely during their stay in Yerevan our boys have given assistance in harvesting vegetables and fruit, feed procurement, and the clearing of stones from fields on 18 kolkhozes and sovkhozes. They have harvested 357 tonnes of grapes, 150 tonnes of potatoes, 38 tonnes of pears, 16 tonnes of quinces, and 10 tonnes of tomatoes; procured 50 tonnes of hay; repaired and equipped 13 secondary school classrooms and 9 kindergartens; and held 26 Komsomol and youth subbotniks. That is to say, the soldier did not leave the parade ground with a feeling of malice. But there is no point in denying that he left it with a sharp pain in his heart.

[Interviewer] There is no point in pondering at any length the fact that some people were better prepared for the current events than "full-time" propaganda and agitation workers or the party, soviet, and Komsomol aktiv. And the mass media are still not running the risk of providing effective coverage of events in the NKAO, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, events were becoming increasingly heated. Your opinion as a military man: To what extent are journalists being professional in their work now? Has some sort of a vacuum developed in the sphere of information and ideology which is instantaneously filled by "information suppliers" of a different ilk?

[Shatalin] This is certainly an apt question. Soldiers and commanders are constantly asking this. First, about the mass media's "timidity." I realize that demagogues and provocateurs always need a bogeyman, a target for attacks to provide a focus for the population's emotional outbursts. Journalists, who are a soft target, have become such a bogeyman. It is perhaps impossible for a journalist to avoid "mistakes" in such a situation. As a military man, I would prefer an accurate and up-to-the-minute chronicle compiled by authoritative organs. This, unfortunately, is lacking. Our soldiers—and not just the soldiers, I think—are starved for information.

[Interviewer] Complex events, unusual and certainly not standard. Who could have imagined that the curative process of democratization, glasnost, and restructuring would be subjected to such trials?

[Shatalin] In my view, much of what is happening is a reaction to the excessive bureaucratization, centralism, and mere verbiage of the stagnation period. But no matter how paradoxical it might sound, the impetus of the struggle to cure society of these defects was more actively exploited by demagogues and opponents of restructuring than by people who really care for the country's fate. Why does this happen at times? As a military man who has seen much evil, who believes in restructuring and yearns for it like fresh air, I am struggling to answer this question. So far, I have found only one answer: We have seriously slackened political and cadre work in many national regions. And in places it has been simply wrecked. We thought that the main thing was to solely achieve prosperity for the people. But the people have long been ready for active participation in political life and are struggling for it. Suddenly there also emerged the far from dormant figures of political adventurers who try—by manipulating party and government documents and central press materials, by playing on exacerbated national feelings and religious beliefs—to drive a wedge between the masses and the party, between different nations in the country. The best way to achieve this is through the destabilization of social life, the deliberate fanning of interethnic problems, anarchical trends, and depriving people of their sense of security. Incidentally, in my view, this was the aim of those who orchestrated the tragedy in Sumgait.

[Interviewer] The whole point is to convey these generally simple truths to ordinary people's hearts and minds....

[Shatalin] A directive on improving international work and analyzing interethnic relations was signed among our troops a few days ago. And the reason we drew it up was by no means because the situation within units was becoming more complex. We wish to help everyone get to the essence of the prevailing situation; we are striving to perceive the shape of possible complexities, because the adventurers are also trying to infiltrate our own ranks. And political workers need ideological tools. It is impossible to follow in the wake of events. That is dangerous. Perhaps the fact that we have to perform this type of service in two Transcaucasian republics is the result of delays in the analysis and solution of painful problems, something that the former leadership in Armenia and Azerbaijan hardly bothered about, thus leaving a heavy and neglected legacy behind.

In this context I would like to emphasize again and again: What is happening now is not the cost of democratization and glasnost. We are up against the legacy of the stagnation times which has become a quite terrible weapon in the hands of demagogues, adventurers, the mafia, and bureaucrats. Therefore, a complex struggle for the maintenance of order, for real glasnost, and for democracy lies ahead. Any compromise here would be a retreat.

[Interviewer] Many readers express the opinion that a number of individuals standing in the wings, afraid that their corrupt clans might be exposed, are deliberately fanning passions and are the organizers of the outrages which resulted in tragic incidents. They are also the authors of inveterate nationalist slogans which insult the honor and dignity of other nations.

[Shatalin] The antirestructuring forces are perfectly well aware that democracy is unimaginable without the observance of legality. Analysis shows that the majority of them are totally indifferent to national problems and the fate of people whom they involve in illegal actions. I do think, however, that reason and legality, democracy and order, will gain the upper hand. There is no alternative. The internal forces servicemen serve this noble and humane cause.

Academician Frolov on Azerbaijan

LD2511205488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1540 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Academician Konstantin Vasilyevich Frolov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is taking part in our program:

[Frolov] Everyone is following very closely what is happening in Yerevan, Baku, and other Azerbaijani towns today. Academics are very concerned and disturbed that these processes could grow and enter an unstable state, and that unpredictable consequences could follow.

I have very many friends and colleagues in Armenia and Azerbaijan. There are passive people who are looking to see where these events will lead. It is very important today to influence this mass of people. It seems to me that the time has come when both we here in the center, and people in a number of towns of the RSFSR and other republics, must demonstrate particular concern and particular alarm and take energetic and specific action. I have in mind the Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences in the republics; I have in mind higher educational establishments. This is because the universities and institutes have enormous potential and a strong influence on the as-yet-unsettled, unshaped, and unformed milieu of young people. And we must not give these extremist sentiments opportunities and occasions for instilling this corruption and instability in the minds of young and inexperienced people and for essentially bringing this situation to the boil.

On the other hand, it seems to me to be very important to be very attentive to the problems that do exist in the social and nationalities sphere; they have piled up for years. We are discussing them honestly and openly, and we must find the opportunities, strength, and courage, if you like, to render the most effective assistance to all the processes that really require immediate resolution in these republics.

On the other hand, as you know, unlawful actions have occurred, acts of violence and even murder in Azerbaijan. These processes must of course be assessed in the most clear-cut way, and the legal processes and the punishments that must take place here must be conducted in a spirit of glasnost; they must be comprehensible and accessible to all. I have in my hand a newspaper, whose very headline contains a small but telling element. It says: meetings, meetings, meetings. Do we endlessly have to look at these meetings? Someone is of course organizing these meetings. Someone, instead of working honestly, doing an honest day's work, and devoting all he can to educating young people, is putting all his strength and energy into these meetings. It is necessary here, of course, to bring into play the legal provisions that exist in our state in a more clear-cut, more unequivocal, and perhaps tougher way in the republics themselves.

'Military Aspects' of Latvian Popular Front

PM2711183488 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 88 First Edition p 2

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: "If We Set Aside Emotion: Notes on What Is Happening in Latvia, and in Particular 'Military Aspects' of the Popular Front Program"]

[Text] Riga—Recently Riga's streets have repeatedly seen outbreaks of passion and emotion that assail passers-by, now with the quick-tempered appeals of people taking part in rallies, now with unfamiliar inscriptions on the placards carried by pickets at the entrance to some administrative building. Heated debates take place in labor collectives, at VUZ's, among students. What about? A new sociopolitical orgnaization began to operate in the republic at the start of October—the Latvian Popular Front. All the heat of the current passions is concentrated around this.

Is the mass movement that was set up under the flag of restructuring as the party's active ally and helper in restructuring (and this idea is invariably proclaimed in speeches by activists of the movement, which numbers more than 150,000 people in its ranks) justifying the hopes of all supporters of restructuring? Can the Latvian Popular Front really be called a popular front, if by no means all strata of the population are represented in it? It cannot be denied that many people were worried and alarmed by some of the frankly anti-Soviet, nationalist, and extremist speeches made at the founding congress of the Latvian Popular Front. Among the working class there is dissatisfaction that workers were poorly represented both at the congress and in the front's leadership bodies. Some perplexity was also caused among the republic's Russian-speaking poulation by the low percentage of their representation in the Latvian Popular Front (non-Latvians amount to about 12 percent). The reasonable question arose: Is this a popular front, or a national front? In a number of cases perplexity is

expressed over the interpretation of certain economic, social, and political problems that are reflected both in the program of the Latvian Popular Front and in its first resolutions. These and certain other aspects of the birth of the Latvian Popular Front led to the formation of Interfront, whose supporters, incidentally, also include people who hold immoderate, extremist positions, who try to speak the language of diktat to their opponents, and who basically shrug aside questions that affect Latvians' national interests.

Against this background there emerged a kind of polarization of the population on the principle of language, and this immediately led to all kinds of conjectures about the growth of crime on an interethnic basis. The republican MVD was forced to issue a special statement on this subject: The number of crimes has not increased compared with other periods, and crimes have not assumed the nature of interethnic conflicts.

At a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session devoted to the course and results of the founding congress of the Latvian Popular Front and the tasks of party committees and organizations to consolidate all the republic's working people, it was stated frankly and unequivocally: "The bureau is constantly mindful of the concerns and worries of all peoples living in the republic, and declares firmly that in resolving any problems it will do everything to ensure that the legitimate rights of people of any nationality are not infringed upon." It was reaffirmed that support will continue to be given only to those initiatives and aspirations of the Popular Front that promote the acceleration of restructuring, the development of democracy, and the strengthening of socialism. At the same time concern was expressed in connection with the fact that certain individuals from the informal associations belonging to the Latvian Popular Front are increasingly frequently using strong-arm tactics and ultimatums in an attempt to complicate the situation.

As a military man, I naturally am not indifferent to the "military aspects" of the front's program and activity. On the one hand, the decisions adopted at the first session of the Duma included these, for instance: to appropriate R20,000 from the Popular Front's financial resources to grant assistance to internationalist servicemen living in the republic who were wounded in the Republic of Afghanistan, and R10,000 to erect a monument to the victims of fascism of Jewish nationality (and, as is well known, Latvian legionaries were also involved in the genocide on Latvian territory). These decisions were greeted with approval in the republic, it must be said. Even among the opponents of the Latvian Popular Front there were only a few people who assessed them as a "propaganda gesture" and an attempt to "play on popular feelings and win additional votes."

But against the background of charitable measures like these by the Latvian Popular Front, one sees today in a very different light the content of the slogans and placards that certain representatives of the Popular Front carried, for instance, at the holiday demonstration, or those that some members of informal groups display at their own rallies, which have now become a common phenomenon. I will not generalize, I will only touch on those that I have happened to see and read personally in the Russian and Latvian languages, and those that to some degree express the "military program" of the Latvian Popular Front today: "A national army for Latvia," "Initial military training is a deep-seated survival of Stalinism." I am not going to claim that all these and other similar formulas correspond precisely to the official position of the Latvian Popular Front, but nonetheless they convey its essence, and therefore provide food for thought. As does the proposal enshrined in one item in the Popular Front program—that the formation of the Armed Forces be carried out on the territorial principle from now on.

The chairman of the Latvian Popular Front, the 33-year-old Daynis Ivans, interprets this thesis thus:

"The very first constitution of the Latvian SSR said that it can have its own national military formations, in which all citizens of the Latvian Republic could carry out their service. Some people think that this implies some kind of national army, but that is far from the case. Remember the times when the Red Army was beginning to be formed. The Latvian Red Riflemen's units were formed to defend the interests of the October Revolution, and not many people know that Latvians, Russians, Belorussians, and people of other nationalities served in these units... In this context it is important not to confuse national and nationalist. I believe the setting up of these national formations would increase the sense of responsibility for service and promote the development of patriotic feelings; it would be a real school of internationalism."

Obviously, one can only agree with the factual part of this statement. But one can hardly agree with the conclusions, especially the one about a "school of internationalism."

I have spoken with many people about this, in particular V. Patanin, deputy chief of the State and Law Department of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. He is a lawyer by education.

"And who will serve in the north, the Far East, or other regions of the country, or outside the country, when the interests of the defense of our united motherland and its security so require?" Vladimir Petrovich reasonably inquired. "Anyone, as long as it's not us, apparently. ..."

I believe that in this context it would be more correct and more useful to talk about a different kind of educational work with the young generation, based on the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the Latvian people. It is well known that in the terrible war years the republic's workers and the leading section of the peasantry and intelligentsia, responding to the party's call,

rose in harmony for the selfless struggle against the aggressors. Latvian Red Army formations and partisan detachments which formed on Latvian soil not only graphically reflected the multinational composition of Latvia's population, but also embodied the combat collaboration of the peoples of the USSR, our common, united home. The trials we underwent together strengthened and tempered this collaboration.

It is this aspect of the patriotic and international education of the population that the republic's party organization is focusing on today. Measures connected with the study and propaganda of the combat traditions of servicemen and partisans of the Great Patriotic War period were recently examined and approved. This is undoubtedly important, because, as experience shows, students and young working people are poorly informed about the heroic struggle of the Latvian military formations and partisan detachments against the Hitlerite occupation forces. It is also important because some people in the republic today are not averse to offering their own interpretation of the events of June-July 1940.

Opinion on this matter is united: That summer, the working people of Latvia made an irreversible choice in favor of the soviets and socialism. It is another matter, as Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the republican Communist Party Central Committee, stressed in a speech recently, that the events of the summer of 1940 took place in the conditions of the personality cult and the command-and-administer system, which had a negative effect on the processes of the formation of soviet power in the republic. One can also agree, he observed, that we need a more objective interpretation of the events of 1940, as well as other periods of history. Work in this direction is already under way, actively involving historians and cultural workers who are jointly striving to represent more accurately the course of historical development, so that there will be no "blank" spots or "dark" spots. It is also acknowledged that the history of the formation and combat operations of the 24th Territorial (Latvian) Rifle Corps in June-July 1941 has not been sufficiently studied. These and other omissions are exploited by bourgeois propaganda and elements with nationalist inclinations in order to instill ideologically damaging views of the Latvian people's struggle for soviet power and for their freedom and independence.

"I consider it necessary to stress that the Popular Front program also contains manifestly unacceptable proposals," V. Patanin observed in a conversation with me. "For example, the proposal to introduce compulsory labor service for those young people who allegedly cannot serve in the Army because of their convictions. Another saddening thing, I confess, is the naivety of some people who become euphoric over the accord reached on a 4-percent (a mere 4-percent!) reduction in nuclear arms. This process has only begun. And its progress is by no means easy. Similar ideas are also the source of the Latvian Popular Front's demand for the abandonment of elementary military training in secondary schools, the cancellation of the drafting of VUZ students into the Army, and the reduction of arms on Latvian territory."

Here, how can you not recall the words which M.S. Gorbachev spoke when meeting with young people from Moscow and the Moscow region: "I believe," he said, "that we are moving toward an understanding of this very important complex of problems. You must understand that we can't all simply set to and disband our Army at a time when all the others are keeping their armies and arming themselves. This would be wrong. We will therefore follow the path of reducing armies and arms along with other states. In general, the question of Army service and the draft needs to be explored in depth. I believe that the question of the duration of service will also arise. It can be changed. But all this must be within the framework of a normal process which will include our actions and the steps taken by our friends and partners. There is therefore a germ of rationality in raising the question, but when voices are heard asking 'Why do we need an army?' it can't be taken seriously."

In the past few months we have had repeated occasion to see that many aspects of military problems which are now being actively debated by Latvian Popular Front members are based on ignorance and a failure to understand the the specifics and purpose of having a military organization. This is obviously a common miscalculation and misapprehension on our part. For too long we isolated ourselves behind concrete walls from those who were about to join the ranks of the Army, for too long we insisted there were no problems and painted a pretty and rosy picture of a job which demands sweat, courage, and stamina alike and whose result is the security of the country, our common Soviet home.

It is encouraging that the situation is now beginning to change, and that people are beginning to demonstrate a desire to understand the role which the Army plays in socialist society and to take a step toward closer and stronger cooperation between social organizations and the Armed Forces. In one sense confirmation of this is provided by the words of Latvian Popular Front Chairman D. Ivans. One of the questions put to him by a military journalist was: A considerable amount was said about the Army at the constituent congress, but this in no way means that Baltic Military District officers and soldiers are not interested in the activities of the Popular Front. On the contrary, there is an interest in learning and a desire to learn as much as possible about its work and plans. Therefore the question arises: Does the Latvian Popular Front plan to cooperate with military units, military academies, and other Army collectives, and if so, in what form?

Ivans answered:

"We are prepared for such cooperation, and the closer the better..."

Today it can be said that such cooperation is beginning to take effect in practical actions, including, it is important to stress, on the initiative of the military. A military council meeting on interethnic relations involving the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Baltic republic Communist Parties was recently held in the military district. A plan for joint measures involving institutions, training establishments, party committees, soviet organs, and youth organizations together with military units was elaborated. Servicemen are participating in measures being conducted by the republic's labor collectives. Local journalists were recently given the opportunity to visit one of the district's military units, where they familiarized themselves with the life of the personnel. A news conference at the Baltic Military District Officers Club was devoted to problems of glasnost in the Army. This kind of dialogue and cooperation constitutes a realistic path away from confrontation toward understanding, teamwork, and the rallying and galvanization of all forces supporting restructuring.

Incident at Ukrainian Nuclear Reactor Explained

AU2511120988 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with A.V. Serebryakov, chief inspector of the State Committee for Safety in the Atomic Power Industry at the South Ukrainian AES, by G. Selin, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent in Nikolayev Oblast, on 16 November: "What Happened at the South Ukrainian AES?"]

[Text] **On 17 November IZVESTIYA published an interview with Colonel General V. Kozhbakhteyev, USSR civil defense chief of staff, by its correspondent, entitled "Civil Defense and Accidents." In it it was reported in particular that on 10 November an emergency situation arose in power generating block No 1 of the South Ukrainian AES. Yesterday G. Selin, our correspondent in Nikolayev Oblast, telephoned A.V. Serebryakov, chief inspector of the State Committee for Safety in the Atomic Power Industry at the South Ukrainian AES.**

[Selin] Aleksandr Vasilyevich, the disturbing passage published in IZVESTIYA has worried many inhabitants of Nikolayev Oblast and of the entire republic. Would you explain it, please? What happened at the AES?

[Serebryakov] Close to midnight on 10 November the generator's exciter [vozbuditel] caught fire. The instruments registered the accident. The protection systems, triggered automatically, turned the generator off and stopped the turbine and the generator.

[Selin] What did the operators who were in the machine hall at the time of the accident hear and see?

[Serabryakov] They heard a crack and a hum, like that caused by a short circuit, and saw smoke. The shift operators on duty did not lose their heads, and acted as they should have done in such cases. They called the fire brigade, and took steps to facilitate its work. And they themselves did not stand still with their arms folded. They used the carbon dioxide fire extinguishers. The fire was put out even before the firemen arrived.

[Selin] One is disturbed by the ominous idea "and what if..." Tell me frankly, to what extent would the failure to put out the fire in the machine hall (let us consider such an extreme case) have imperilled the reactor?

[Serebryakov] Just think: The distance from the machine hall to the reactor is 100-120 meters. The reactor is hermetically sealed in a thick shell.

[Selin] The automatic protection systems went into operation. But to what extent are the systems themselves protected against errors and accidents?

[Serebryakov] Let me only say that they cover and protect each other in multiple ways.

[Selin] What conclusions have been drawn from the accident?

[Serebryakov] I will be able to inform you about them a little later. A commission of the USSR Ministry of the Atomic Power Industry is working at the AES. At the moment one can definitely say that the emergency stoppage of the power generating block did not entail any changes in the radiation situation.

Agricultural

Gorbachev Tours Agro-Industrial Exhibit

LD2611101888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and party and state leaders today toured an exhibition at the USSR National Economic Achievements exhibition—Technological Equipment for the Processing Industries of the Agro-Industrial Complex.

[Correspondent Medvedev, identified by screen caption] It's no secret today that the processing of agricultural produce is one of the weakest links in the field/farm to market chain. We are all familiar with the results of this backwardness—appreciable losses of grain, meat, and milk and occasionally poor-quality food in the markets. What has been done to set things right? What measures are to be taken in the near future? Those were perhaps the main questions Mihkhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev asked the heads of industries who acquainted him with the exhibits on display. The exhibition contains equipment now in production and new developments by 16 industrial ministries and the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. The first steps have already been taken, but they, as we know, are also the most difficult. [Video

shows overview of exhibition; Gorbachev walking among the exhibits; Ryzhkov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Baklanov, Nikonov, and Razumovskiy accompany him]

[Begin recording] [First unidentified man] ...to increase production. The most important thing, as you can see, is that it is a question of surviving the first 2 years. The year 1988 is ending and it will be 1989 and 1990 that are the most important, because without a dramatic increase in volumes it will be difficult [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev, interrupting] So 1989 and 1990 are the most important years?

[First unidentified man] They are the most important, the toughest.

[Gorbachev] The immediate conclusion is: 1989—work on this one day at a time.

[Ligachev] It's gratifying that each ministry has its own program for reconstruction and modernization, and particularly for the provision of social amenities.

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Yes, or else you can't achieve anything on such a basis.

[Ligachev] Things practically have to be started anew there.

[First unidentified man] We now have 355 defense enterprises involved. [end recording]

[Medvedev] And those enterprises, it was stressed, have become actively involved in developing and producing equipment for the processing industry. Everyone was interested in the experience of the Ministry of Medium-Machinebuilding. It not only devises and provides machine tools and lines for dairy factories, but it also builds production sites for them. In short, they produce turnkey facilities. In building new enterprises, however, stressed Mikhail Sergeyevich, one must by no means write off the old ones that are already in operation.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] When you expand capacity it should not only be through new factories. Old ones have to be put in order and....

[Second unidentified man, interrupting] Reconstruction.

[Gorbachev] All over Europe you can see old sheds which, when you enter them, turn out to be modern enterprises.

[Second unidentified man] What we're doing now, Mikhail Sergeyevich...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] You have to bear this [word indistinct] in mind, so that you (?provide) so to speak... (?without ostentation).

[Second unidentified man] We are compiling a reconstruction plan, for each oblast, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Gorbachev] Very good. [end recording]

[Medvedev] This unit for producing cottage cheese, for example, is suitable for any enterprise. After installation it will immediately begin producing five tonnes of the valuable dairy product per shift. And this cheesemaker could be called a domestic machine; it is best suited for leaseholders and people who work in family livestock units. It can be used to make cheese on the very spot where the milk is obtained.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev to third unidentified man near cheesemaking machine] I'd be interested to know where it's installed in the livestock farm, what's it connected to and how (?it works).

[Third unidentified man] Here's the whole set. This is the unit where the cheese is actually prepared. [end recording]

[Medvedev] During the viewing of the numerous exhibits and conversations with designers and ministry and department heads, there was a discussion of progress thus far in producing modern machines and equipment, as defined in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. It was noted that the ministries and their enterprises are making a decisive turn toward accelerating scientific and technical progress, toward requipping the material base of the food complex. Many leading scientific-research and design organizations have been involved in this work and the search is on for the most optimal methods of manufacturing machinery up to modern world standards.

Acquainting himself with the exhibition, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized the need to devote greater attention not only to individual units but to entire lines that will make it possible to process agricultural produce at a high level of efficiency and prevent unjustifiable losses. Ministry and department heads were instructed to rapidly organize series manufacturing of new technology in order to fulfill orders and ensure technical maintenance in the very near future. First and foremost, small-scale equipment for the processing and food enterprises should be manufactured, especially equipment with small or mediumsized capacity located at the source of the raw materials.

Summarizing the results of the exchange of views, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted that the main significance of this exhibition of the latest models of equipment lies in the fact that it reflects the practical steps in the restructuring of the machinebuilding complex and its turnaround toward the interests of the needs of the processing and food industries of the agro-industrial complex as a task which brooks no delay. [Video shows further shots of leaders looking at machinery]

[Announcer] together with Comrade Gorbachev, the exhibition was seen by Comrades Vorotnikov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Vlasov, Razumovskiy and Baklanov. Explanations were given by Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; Comrade Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other comrades.

Scientific

Further on Progress of 'Soyuz TM-7' Flight

Docking Set for 1730 GMT 28 Nov

LD2811154488 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

The Soviet Soyuz TM-7 spaceship carrying an international crew of cosmonauts from the USSR and France is to dock with the orbiting platform Mir at 2030 Moscow time today [1730 GMT].

The three men aboard the spaceship are Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev of the USSR and Frenchman Jean-Loup Chretien. Volkov and Chretien have already each been in space once, while Krikalev is on his first flight in orbit.

The three men waiting for them on Mir are Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and physician Valeriy Polyakov. The former two have been up there for nearly one year.

Docking will take place on the second day of the international mission, as has been standard practice in Soviet manned fight recently.

As compared with times when spaceships would link up with orbiting platforms a day after launch, the new practice makes it possible to save fuel and enables ballistics experts to calculate more accurately the strength of an impulse needed by the spaceship for docking.

It is also more convenient for its crew. Everyone knows from one's own experience that it is not easy to get down to work and to work fruitfully even after air travel. And the extreme conditions of weightlessness make an even much greater impact on the human organism.

So medical experts believe that the two-day gap between liftoff and docking helps the crew better to adapt to zero gravity and that the cosmonauts then will find it easier to start work aboard the orbiting platform to fulfil their mission.

Docking With 'Mir' Successful

LD2811185088 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The spacecraft Soyuz TM-7, manned by a Soviet-French crew, docked with the orbital station Mir (peace) at 20:16 Moscow time today.

The craft is fitted out with a system, called Kurs ("Course"), which considerably simplifies the process of rendezvous and docking.

The system Igla ("Needle") that had been previously used on the Soyuz T series craft, demanded constant mutual orientation of the spaceship and the orbital station, which led to enhance fuel consumption and placed certain limits on the planning of experiments on board the station.

The start of the operation of the Mir complex, whose mass is about fifty tons, called for the development of a new docking system that would require spacecraft manoeuvring alone.

Dr. Vladimir Pochukayev, mission deputy head for ballistics, told newsmen that the rendezvous process began with remote guidance. The propulsion unit was started in the fourth and fifth and then in the 18th orbits of the spaceship. It was activated twice tonight in its 32nd and 33rd orbits.

As a result of this manoeuvring, the spacecraft moved about 40 kilometres towards the orbital complex. The further rendezvous was implemented with the use of autonomous guidance equipment.

400 metres off the station, the Soyuz TM-7 started circling the orbital complex to approach the link-up unit of the Kvant module.

Having completed the circling, the spacecraft was "suspended" roughly 150 metres from the Mir.

At this time, mission control experts assessed the state of the on-board systems and the mutual location of the two craft using telemetry data.

On command from Earth, the Soyuz team activated the automatic docking system and linked up with the Mir from the Kvant module side in its 34th orbit.

The crew are to move to the Mir station by about 10 p.m. Moscow time after checking the air-tightness of the craft compartments and the link-up unit and equalising the pressure in their ship and the station.

Cosmonauts Transfer to Orbiter

LD2811231688 Moscow TASS in English 1944 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—By special TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

Cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Jean-Loup Chretien who were lifted off the Baykonur cosmodrome aboard a Soviet TM-7 spacecraft two days ago, went over today to the orbiting space station Mir and were met there by Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov. Following the conclusion of the program of the Soviet-French space mission, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, after staying for 12 months in orbit, are to return to Earth together with Jean-Loup Chretien. Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov, a doctor, who remained on board Mir after the Soviet-Afghan space mission, will be working on board the station till the end of April 1989.

On November 12, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov broke the 326-day space endurance record set last year by Yuriy Romanenko, commander of the second mission on board Mir station. Medics report that Titov and Manarov are in a normal state of health, and that the slight changes in their weight and muscle volume do not surpass corresponding indexes observed in Romananko. Deputy flight commander Viktor Blagov reported that four weeks ago, preparing for the return to Earth, they increased the duration of training on a stationary bike and tread mill and also of other profilactic training. They will be working in this regime till the end of the flight. During the Soviet-French space mission it will be the first time when six people will be staying on board the orbital station. This will require smooth work.

The effectiveness of the measures for the prevention of the impact of weightlessness on human organism, developed in the USSR, was confirmed by Yuriy Romananko's record flight. The check after the flight showed that the changes in the volume of muscles of the shins and bone tissue were less than in the cosmonauts who participated in flights of a shorter duration. Romanenko himself said he felt much better after the 326-day long mission than after the 96-day flight he made in 1977. Several hours after the landing he picked up his eleven-year old son and he was jogging for brief periods of time the next day. Yuriy Romanenko also participated in a seven-day Soviet-Cuban mission in 1980 and is the record-holder for total duration of the stay in weightlessness—430 days.

Experiments Underway

LD2811201988 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 28 TASS—The commander of the Soviet-French crew on board the orbital research complex Mir (peace) in his report to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev today stated that the international crew had started the implementation of the programme of joint scientific studies and experiments.

Commander Vladimir Titov reported that the on-board systems of the research complex were operating normally, and all members of the crew were feeling well.

'Buran' Tiles Melt During Reentry

LD2611195788 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 24 November carries a video report by S. Slipchenko from the Baykonur cosmodrome on readying the Soyuz TM-7 carrier rocket and spaceship, which will take the Soviet-French crew into orbit, for launch. The report begins with shots of the rocket complex lit by searchlights and surrounded by people said to be specialists and foreign journalists. Amid further pictures of the rocket and the launch area, labelled Gagarinskiy, Slipchenko goes on to say that the foreign journalists naturally had many questions about the flight of the shuttle "Buran," an achievement which, they said, had suffered from a paucity of information. At this point, copies of foreign journals featuring the historic flight are shown on the screen. Then "Buran" itself is shown from various angles, and we are told that its hull is undergoing post-flight treatment.

Slipchenko draws attention to the marks on the hull left by the craft's reentry into the earth's atmosphere. He says that some of the heat resistant tiles appear to have been turned into marble. That was because the special coating put on them to protect them against terrestrial moisture had, in places, melted and burned. This, however, is regarded by the scientists as normal.

The experts are studying the performance of each of the draft's technical systems. Yu.P. Semenov, the chief designer, says in an interview that the information currently available is of an interim nature. The telemetric information has yet to be fully studied, the autonomous sensors have to be removed, and all the parameters assessed. Semenov says that what can be said, however, is that the flight "passed normally, without any substantial failings [zamechaniy]." There are, he goes on to say, some five or six questions requiring attention. One concerns some of the small tiles: why were they damaged?

Turning to the automatic landing made by "Buran," Semenov says that it was faultless and lived up to expectations. Slipchenko continues: "Tests rarely involve no losses. Of the 39,000 protective glass tiles, only 4 failed to return from the flight. The causes are being analyzed." The camera at this point shows a gap in a ridge of black tiles on the spacecraft's tail section.

In conclusion, Slipchenko stresses that the study of Buran and the preparations for the joint Soviet-French flight are connected: They are two links in the same chain. This is accompanied by final shots of Buran in its workshop and the Soyuz TM-7 on the launch pad.